

**INSIDE: Victims of crime/ Begin's resignation**

# Maclean's

SEPTEMBER 5, 1983

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

\$1.25

## THE FURY OF THE PHILIPPINES

**Anatomy of an assassination**

**Marcos faces the gathering storm**

**The spectre of a new Iran**



# Sun Set.



CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

## Maclean's

SEPTEMBER 5, 1983 VOL. 36 NO. 36

### COVER

#### The fury of the Philippines

In the wake of the assassination of Filipino opposition leader Benigno Aquino, the world's eyes turned to the 100-million-people archipelago. Strongman Ferdinand Marcos keeps a tight grip on power, but his health is failing, and Southeast Asia's only guerrilla war is bound to intensify, raising fears in Washington of a new Iran in the making. —Page 18

COVER PHOTO BY MICHAEL GARDNER



#### The victims of crime

An awareness of the rights and needs of crime's victims spreads, protecting their interests has become a major social crusade of the 1980s. —Page 40



#### A veteran's vindication

On his 63rd birthday, liberal MP and former cabinet minister Bryon Macdonald retired the perfect courtroom, press-and-windbreak and a happy judgment. —Page 10



#### Beer and Idiocy

With their traditional toques and carousels, Deb and Doug McKenna celebrate the glories of beer and of disco in their first feature film, *Strange Brew*. —Page 54

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#### A sizzling political race

As Americans languish in an unusually hot summer, the race for the 1984 Democratic presidential nomination has reached a feverish pace. —Page 25



## Headlines and deadlines

Since Gen. Douglas MacArthur performed his Second World War heroics in the Philippines, most Canadians have come to consider the islands as little more than pinpoints on the map of an obscure and distant region. But with the assassination of Benigno Aquino, the Philippines have suddenly taken on the same importance as Iran after the overthrow of the shah or Vietnam in the final days before the Communist takeover. When the killing was first reported

on Sunday morning, Aug. 21, Maclean's decided that the magazine's commitment to covering late-breaking news overrode the importance of adhering to deadlines that normally require us to deliver our best stories to the Maclean Hunter printing plant by midnight on Saturday. Assistant Managing Editor Alan Walker managed to make telephone contact with correspondents in Manila and, with Assistant Managing Editor Colin MacKenna, pieced together a detailed account of the murder. Art Director Nick Kuretski changed the cover design to enable us to alert readers to the story with a headline that appeared above the Maclean's title. With the full co-operation of our plant's operating staff, the big M-1000 web offset press began to roll at exactly 5:10 p.m.—on time.

This week we had the luxury of more time in which to prepare a full cover story, which appears on page 16. For writer Hal Quinn, who worked with Researcher-Reporter David Halpin-Thorne and files from correspondents around the world, it was his third cover story on a major world figure in less than a year. The cover itself is the only known color photo of Aquino and his alleged assassin moments after the shooting.

Kevin Doyle

Quinn and Halpin-Thorne on line

Maclean's September 5, 1993

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## LETTERS

### Love and respect

Your article *The Police at the top of rock* (Music, Aug. 15) was greatly appreciated. Canadians and The Police have shared a respectful and loving relationship since day 1, and we are proud of it. Sadly, though, The Police could have used a little love and they played T-shirts for the Spectrum date in Montreal, Aug. 8, stating, "I didn't get to see the Police at the Spectrum," which would apply to 99.9 per cent of The Police fans.

—CLAUDINE LALONDE,  
Cornwall, Ont.

I am writing to thank you for your excellent article on The Police in your Aug. 15 issue. It is about time they get some recognition for their great music (Spectatorship is their best album yet), and in your article you gave it to them (although I think you should have put them on the cover).

—MICHAEL BOUTREAU,  
New Glasgow, N.S.

I really appreciated your article on The Police in your Aug. 15 issue. It just goes to show that there is such a thing as a rock group that can produce great music without being greedy, violent drug addicts. Thank you for showing us a rock group that deserves to be highly commended.

—DORVILLE, Ont.

### IBC dedicated to its viewers

Your article about the Inuit Broadcasting Corp. was thorough and informative. As a loving son of ancient traditions, Television, Aug. 8, however, IBC is not the spokesperson-chronicler of the Inuit.



The Police's Sting no growl or violence

Epitome of Canada, IBC is a completely independent public broadcasting network with its own board of governors. IBC is dedicated to fulfilling the needs of its viewers and not those of any one organization.

—DORVILLE, Ont.  
Executive Assistant, IBC,  
Ottawa

### A bit of finger-wagging

Former premier Alex Campbell of Prince Edward Island has been out of office for five years. Yet his name appears under a picture of current P.E.I. Premier Jim Lee in your article. A conference without representation (Canada, Aug. 22) Text cut.

—GALLS COLE,  
Trent, N.S.

### Untrained artists in high places

I am appalled at John Kenneth Galbraith's comment that artists are just as entitled as scientists or engineers to speak on economic matters (People, Aug. 8). It is, in fact, the government's (and country's) use of improperly trained or blatantly incompetent people that has gotten us into the mess we are in. We do not need more entrained people adding to the cacophony, we need a clear consensus from trained and competent leaders. As for Galbraith's statement that art drives economic growth, I give a 1976 quote of H.R.H. Prince Philip: "It may be fairly easy to say for the culturally gifted to admit that the wealth that makes it possible for them to pursue the arts and scholarship has to be generated by those who work in industry and commerce, but such is the case. To design the very activities that sustain our whole level of civilization is to starve and misdirect—if not actually to kill—the goose that lays the golden eggs."

—GARY BRUNO,  
Norman Wells, N.W.T.

## PASSAGES

**DEED:** Frederick Goldwin (Big Daddy) Gardiner, 55, the man who created Metropolitan Toronto in 1953 out of the City of Toronto and 15 neighboring communities, from the effects of a stroke and arthritis, in Toronto. A former corporation lawyer, Gardiner began his municipal career as deputy mayor in the suburban village of Forest Hill, Ont. Premier Leslie Frost handpicked Gardiner as Metro Toronto's first chairman, a post he held until December, 1961.

**APPOINTED:** Geologist and University of Toronto Provost David Strongway, 48, as president of the university, effective Sept. 1. Born in Simcoe, Ont., Strongway was chief of the U.S. space program's study of moon rocks between 1970 and 1973. Geology University President Donald Fennell was to have taken over the U of T this fall but he died Aug. 8. Strongway had served as acting president since James Hume resigned on June 30.

**SURVIVED:** Jorge Luis Borges, South America's dean of letters, who provided in a 1977 short story called *Aug. 25, 1949* that he would commit suicide on that day by swallowing an overdose of pills. On Aug. 24, his 54th birthday, he said that the points of his story, "the justification of being old, the conviction of having lived each day, the valid reasons for suicide," but business and creative present me." Besides, Borges is working on five books.

**MARRIED:** Actress Maureen O'Sullivan, 32, and businessman James Cushing, in a secret ceremony at Stena College in Albany, N.Y. O'Sullivan, who most recently appeared on Broadway in *Morning's at Seven*, was a leading lady in Hollywood in the 1930s on such films as *Tarzan the Ape Man* (she was his queen *Jungle Jane*), *The Barrets of Wimpole Street* and *Pride and Prejudice*. She is the widow of director and producer John Farrow and the mother of Mia Farrow.

**BIRTH:** Scott Nearing, 306, known as the father of the modern ecology movement, in Harborside, Mass. His most popular book, *Living the Good Life*, published in 1924, was about the horse he and his wife, Helen, had built in the backwoods of Vermont. It inspired thousands who were searching for an alternative to urban living. Nearing, who wrote more than 50 books, was considered a radical because of his early writings about individualism against women and blacks. In one of his last public appearances he played himself in the movie *Andi*, about the life of U.S. journalist John Reed.

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#### FOLLOW-UP

## Wellington's last stand

For generations the legend was only a history book footnote to the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. Then, last month, Dutch King William's 1815 decree to grant to the birth of the Duke of Wellington, in gratitude for the "Iron Duke's" victory over Napoleon, a perpetual pension as well as the title rights on 2,600 acres of Belgian farmland (which includes part of the battle-field) became the subject of a heated dispute between Belgians and Britons. A Walloon nationalist group, claiming to speak for the francophone region of southeastern Belgium, declared that the bequest, now worth as much as \$80,000 a year, was an insult to modern-day Belgians. British newspapers retorted by charging that the Belgians were ungrateful, and they declared that Belgium had turned its back on honor.

The battle of words rapidly revived long-festering British resentment over the way Belgium has overseen the site of the epic battle, 18 km south of Brussels. The British accuse Belgium of allowing the area to become not a monument to Wellington's triumph but a shrine to Napoleon's conquests. For one thing, the tourist shops clustered on the Waterloo battlefield stack mementos of Napoleon's memorabilia, but few sell Wellington souvenirs. Explained shopkeeper Robert Wautier: "The emperor outshines the duke by 100:1." Charges Sirron Bruce Williams, a member of the Waterloo Committee, an Anglo-Belgian group set up to honor the Iron Duke's memory: "Belgian chauvinism has made Napoleon the winner."

While the eighth Duke of Wellington, 68-year-old Arthur Wellesley, declined to comment on his partly allowance from the Belgians, a member of the England-based Waterloo Committee came to his defense and noted that Wellesley has regularly contributed to enhancing the Waterloo site—most recently by paying for six house signs to lead visitors to strategic battlefield spots. In the rage of francophones, however, the signs bear information only in English. Wellesley's defenders point out that history students over the duke what signs have to the battle site. The title rights give him a veto on the sale of the farmland. The duke's supporters claim that if it had not been for his ancestral rights, the farmers might have sold out to housing developers.

—PETER LEWIS in Brussels

#### FOLLOW-UP

## The 'cure' with a catch

Raymond Miller, a 60-year-old former car salesman, entered Patton State Hospital in San Bernardino, Calif., in April, 1970, to undergo treatment for alcoholism. At that time, Mark and Linda Sobell, a husband-and-wife team of psychology students, asked him to take part in their experiment of trying to train alcoholics to drink moderately. Miller agreed, largely because he considered "drinking to be part of my selfing." But now, Miller, 13 other members of the controlled-drinking group and the daughter of one deceased participant have filed a \$40-million claim against the state of California, which sustained the project. The July 31 suit states that, either as a result of medical malpractice or fraud, the project had led to the arrests and hospitalization of seven of the study group members and to the deaths of four others.

The Sobells' alcoholic rehabilitation program consisted of six weeks in-hospital treatment followed by a two-year period of outpatient monitoring. According to the Sobells' 1976 final report, follow-up checks proved that the 30 patients trained in controlled-drinking techniques fared better than a similar group in a traditional abstinence program. At the time, many psychologists hailed the report as a landmark because the results suggested that alcoholism is a behavioral problem that can be modified, not a disease for which the only cure is abstinence. But Miller claims that the experiment failed miserably and that the study results do not support the Sobells' controlled-drinking theories. Miller, for one, continued to drink excessively after his release from the hospital. Said Miller: "The police took me back to Patton State Hospital in a straitjacket."

It is not the first time the Sobells' study results have been questioned. Last year Mary Peadary, a psychologist at the Veterans' Administration Hospital in San Diego, Calif., tracked down 16 of the 30 controlled-drinking study subjects and studied their records and police files. In the July 8, 1982, issue of the journal *Science*, Peadary reported that she had found "no evidence" that the patients "had acquired the ability to engage in controlled drinking safely." As well, most study group members were unaware of the possibility of medical malpractice until Al Wasserman of

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## FOLLOW-UP

### The demise of a spy firm



Stout: 'We blind leading the blind at the end of this electronic rainbow'

In the cyberworld of intelligence-gathering, few launchings have been as promising as that of the Washington-based International Reporting Information Systems (IRIS), an analysis information-gathering and political risk-assessment business. And few operations have failed as swiftly or as completely. IRIS, which collapsed 15 months after its November, 1980, start-up, was the brainchild of Anthony Stout, 45, publisher of Washington's prestigious National Journal, and David D'Ambrosio, a British political risk-consultant broker. They conceived the idea after the fall of the Shah of Iran. But recently details of the business have emerged from the files of the Alexandria, Va., bankruptcy court and from disgruntled former staff members.

IRIS offered the rich and powerful information which its agents gathered, sifted through and assessed—everything from parliamentary debates in Middle East nations to reports on safari patterns in Central Africa. A powerful Burroughs Corp. computer operated at IRIS's hub. The promoters of the service believed that the data base would prove so valuable to multinational corporations and foreign governments that they would eagerly pay the \$100,000 to \$300,000 annual subscriber fee. The firm hoped to sign up 200 corporate clients and 10 to 15 governments of small countries, and they confidently projected annual sales of \$30 million by the end of 1983. But IRIS never signed a single client. IRIS's name disappeared as combining new reporting and analysis,

business consultancy, electronic publishing and electronically transmitting the data to customers according to their needs—a feat no other political risk-assessment business had so far achieved. IRIS hired Lee Feldman, 37, a former defense department computer expert, who introduced a revolutionary new software system, never before used commercially, called systematic algorithms. The system would sort out the mass of information and direct it to IRIS clients according to their specific needs. But the computer system never did function. Noted British writer John de St. John, 47, who had left the London Observer to accept a \$75,000-a-year position as head of the Africa desk at IRIS: "The main system shared a common delusion. They craved the threshold of their proven areas of expertise and tried to do something on a grand scale that had never been done before."

To add prestige to the organization, Stout, IRIS's managing director, lured former British prime minister Edward Heath—for more than \$200,000 a year—and former World Bank president and U.S. defense secretary Robert McNamara to sit on an advisory committee. IRIS attracted five major investors, including Prince Frank Joseph of Luxembourg, the Skandia insurance group of Stockholm, Ford Otis, whose fledgling business empire ranges from Norwegian shipping interests to Tanya Corp., Seacore, a British insurance firm, and several smaller investors.

The investors contributed a total of \$15 million to the firm. Stout found his executive suite with such talented pro-

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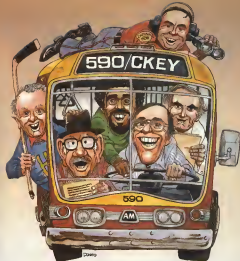
ple as Paul Booker, 41, a fast-rising star in the state department, Barry Kelly, 30, a former CIA station chief in Moscow, and John Kulp, 38, a marketing specialist who had worked for Citibank. Stutz also recruited top journalists: John de Onis, *The New York Times'* senior Latin American correspondent, and de St. Jorre, *Bild de St. Jorre*. "It was a case of the blind leading the blind in search of the pot of gold at the end of an electronic rainbow."

1981 leased an ultramodern, \$100,000-a-month office in Crystal City, across the Potomac River from Washington. Shortly after the start-up, the number of employees rose to 60, and computer bills were running at more than \$200,000 a month. But clients proved elusive. At one time Citicorp appeared to be a good prospect. So did the government of Jordan, to which 1981 promised almost instantaneous Arabic translations of Israeli Knesset sessions. Maurice Strong, now chairman of International Energy Development Corp. in London, England, expressed an interest in investing in 1981. Then the Soviet Embassy in Washington considered buying the service.

In March, 1982, Stutz's colleagues visited him as chief executive (Count Gustaf Douglas, in 1983 investor and former managing director of Sweden's largest newspaper, *Dagens Nyheter*, recruited him). Although Stutz remained a director of the company, he threatened to sue the officers who had forced him out. According to insiders, life at 1981 resembled a soap opera. Few complained because the salaries were generous—many staff members were making more than \$50,000 a year, and the executives all earned more than \$100,000. When the investors cut off 1981's funds last January, most employees by then there were 120 were silent. Said one former staff member, "Last fall everyone thought the firm was a financial colossus. By February the principals were refusing to reimburse policy cash items."

For those working in the area of political risk—there are an estimated 200 U.S. political analysts and about 60 in Canada—the soap opera and the bankruptcy of 1981 did not destroy the dream on which it was built. The idea of such a highly computerized, data-rich private intelligence unit remains strong. Ward Barnes Halliwell, publisher of *Frank & Sullivan Inc.'s World Political Risk Forecast*, a survey of events in roughly 60 countries. "In the next 20 years our company will have the resources 1981 had, but we will put them to better use," Stutz, for his part, remains convinced that 1981 is a viable concept. "The nation is aord," he says. "Within a decade you will see an 1981."

—DANIEL BERTINIS in New York, with William Lashner in Washington.



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#### COLUMN

## How to remedy medicare

By Diane Cohen

I have just spent a month in a Quebec hospital—one of the province's best institutions, I am told. I feel lucky to have survived the experience. I do not mean that I was ill (that I was lucky to be so) but that I was lucky to have survived. I mean that the spending between Ottawa and the provinces over control of Canada's health care system is now weakening the system itself. It is absolutely frightening to be lying in a bed in a hospital whose budget is so squeezed that patients are unable to obtain facial tissues when they need them. For private patients, who are under the care of residents and interns whose training has completely deteriorated them—they function without compassion or even common courtesy.

Canada's outdated health care system has four principal players: the federal government, the provincial governments, the medical profession and the taxpayer. The most important is the taxpayer, who supplies the other three with every penny of their incomes. But the taxpayer is not really in a position to know what he or she needs in the way of health care services and is hence directly consulted when key decisions are made. The vital area is in the mercy of the federal government, whose role is to ensure that the health care system works for everyone.

In the past, Ottawa earned out that responsibility by stipulating that in order to qualify for some of the money it collects from taxpayers the provinces' health care plans must meet four criteria: they must provide comprehensive coverage for all medical services performed by doctors; they must provide universal coverage; they must allow reasonable access to medical services; and they must be portable from province to province. In exchange for meeting those criteria, the federal government agreed to share health care costs with the provinces on a dollar-for-dollar basis. That seemed to work reasonably well until the mid-1970s, when Ottawa, having become more interested in saving money than in controlling the system, made a new proposal for the funding of health care to the provinces and the provinces went along, believing that they would win more spending flexibility. Then, in 1977 Ottawa and the provinces agreed to a new funding arrangement: related block funding. That meant that Ottawa's contribution to health care would be linked to the growth of the gross national product

instead of being tied directly to the cost of running hospitals and paying doctors. In essence, Ottawa simply gives a lump-sum payment to the provinces, and they can spend it as they wish. They may or may not choose to spend it on health care.

The provincial governments' role is to administer the health care system within the overall criteria set down by the federal government. That worked well enough when Ottawa matched every dollar the provinces spent on health care. But when, in 1977, the new deal gave the provinces more control over federal money, Ottawa's contribution turned out to be considerably less money overall. With the economy in a slump, the cost fell. So did Ottawa's payments to the provinces. The provinces then had three options: increase taxes to make up the shortfall, cut medical services, or let the doctors and hospitals charge

***'There is no incentive for hospitals to manage money economically—if they have a surplus, they must give it back'***

patients directly for their services.

For its part, the medical profession is positively adrift: although about medicare and hospitalization. On the one hand, doctors like it because they get paid on time whether they are top in their field or merely mediocre. On the other hand, they hate it because it does not accord with their self-image as independent, individualistic, decision-making professionals. They feel that medicare has dismantled their profession, that no consideration is given to health care as a career and the incompetence of others. They hold medicare responsible for underfunding, undermanned, assembly-line medicine. They see themselves locked out of policymaking procedures, reduced to footnotes. Today, governments have dealt with few of those dissatisfactions directly. Doctors feel they are responsible for a system that no longer works.

The provinces, for their part, are not in any position to take control of the system. No mechanism exists at the provincial level to ensure uniformity of medical care services across the country. Nor have the provinces on the whole

been successful either in keeping down costs or in dealing with striking doctors or hospitals. Taxpayers have preferred to believe that nothing is wrong or, if something is wrong, that the government will fix it. The net result is a situation in which the system itself is threatened.

There are solutions, but they are not easy ones. The first is to make a thorough analysis of the health care system. And the provinces must make a commitment to the preservation of the principle of universal medicare. The solution requires that a modernization of the systems of both medicare and hospitalization—the world has changed since the federal government introduced publicly funded hospitalization in 1958 and publicly funded medical care in 1968. The area of hospitalization is particularly important because the provinces spend roughly twice as much money on hospital services than on medical services. It is crucial to recognize that there is no incentive for hospitals to manage their money economically—if they end up with a surplus, they have to give it back to the government.

The medical profession could make a positive contribution to the good health of the system by easing its grip on the monopoly of many medical services. Doctors could, for instance, allow paramedical and nurses a wider range of responsibilities. That would result in a considerable savings for the taxpayer. Considering that doctors generate from 75 to 80 per cent of all health care costs through their control of hospital admissions and prescription drugs, they would do well to institute some review system to ensure that everything that they say is necessary is indeed essential.

The federal and provincial health ministers are meeting in Halifax on Sept. 6 and 7 to discuss the future of the health care system. Without concrete suggestions for solutions to the medicare dilemma on the agenda, the meeting will simply be an extension of the unproductive stance that has been totally unsuccessful over the past six years in creating conditions for better medical care and improved management of taxpayers' money. More to the point, the health care system shows signs of not being able to withstand, for much longer, the strains that are being imposed on it.

Diane Cohen is a Montreal-based economics writer.

# The retiring Roger Simmons

By Mary Jarvi

The terse press release from the Prime Minister's Office baffled and intrigued the nation. After a mere 10 days in cabinet, **Brigade Major** Roger Simmons resigned his appointed portfolio early last week and returned to the Liberal back benches. In a letter attached to the announcement, Simmons, the MP for Blaine-St. George's, told Pierre Trudeau that he was leaving for "personal reasons" — and he later returned to repeat that

tion of a tax problem to Trudeau during the traditional interview prior to his cabinet appointment. Justice department officials learned of the appointment late on a Friday afternoon, Aug. 14, and early the following week they informed the clerk of the Privy Council, Gordon Chubb, of the investigation. Chubb then told Trudeau's aide, who in turn informed the Prime Minister, who is questioning the case in the *Mezzanotte*.

Trudeau is known to take a severe view of tax irregularities. On at least

RONP answer "yes" or "no" that the House is not informed of investigations under the Income Tax Act. "It is an imperfect system because the RCMP has not got the time to do extensive digging," a former senior security official said last week. "And the income tax people are a power unto themselves."

Trudeau himself once gave a brief explanation of the clearance procedure. In 1984, he told the *Canadian* that he always asks the Ministerial staff "sensitive" order-in-council appointments. He added that when there are no files or allegations, "usually I discuss with the person the role of the office. I am going to give him and ascertain that he is going to conduct himself honestly." For his part, Simmons insists "in all my adult life, I have never knowingly committed any breach of the law."

Simmons' press for privacy did not satisfy his fellow Liberals or the opposition. Senior Newfoundland Tory MP John Crosbie: "It is ridiculous to attempt to pretend that it is reasonable that no reason should be given." Simmons' baffled constituents made the most persistent plea for clarification: George Crocker, president of one of the provincial riding associations in Blaine-St. George's, said that he is convinced Simmons is a honest individual. "But if, and I say, if he is involved in tax evasion or whatever, the damage to the Liberal Party here is going to take a while to wear off," added Crocker. "Mr. Simmons does not owe an explanation to the whole country — he was only in the cabinet 10 days. The only people as even an explanation is to the people who elected him. He owes them a good explanation."

Meanwhile, as Simmons dodged questions throughout the week, his colleagues depicted him as an intense, obviously nervous politician who must be devastated by his removal from cabinet. Simmons was raised in a devout Salvation Army family. He was a school board superintendent when he was a provincial legislator in 1970. He ran for the provincial Liberal leadership in 1974 and 1977. In 1979 he won a federal by-election and was re-elected handily in the 1980 federal election.

In Ottawa, Simmons became known as an aggressive and partisan backbencher. According to former Newfoundland Liberal leader William Roman, Simmons was a cabinet activist who constantly pressed his Newfoundland colleagues, former revenue minister William Roomey, to do more for the province. The Prime Minister dropped the able Roomey from cabinet to make room for Simmons. "I would say that perhaps the most uncomfortable aspect of Bill Roomey's tenure was the anger at his heels by Roger Simmons," Roman said. "It is Roger's own word, there was no fact in where his ambition might take him."

Simmons' problems have had negative repercussions far beyond his own career. Most seriously, the incident diminished the isolation of the Prime Minister's Office, which appeared overbearing or unable to stem the damaging tide of speculation. No senior officials were available last week, and press aides could not even confirm if Trudeau regularly asks for security checks. To add to the Liberal's problems, Newfoundland's traditional subject was now absent — and there are effectively only two other MPs to whom Trudeau can turn in the five-member caucus. Trudeau is unlikely to return Roomey to cabinet, and David Snowy pleaded guilty to defrauding the federal government in 1981. The two remaining Liberal MPs are George Baker, a self-described political maverick, and 28-year-old Brian Tobin, an inexperienced backbencher. There is speculation that Trudeau may turn to Newfoundland Senator Philip Derek Lewis, a lawyer and former party head twice.

While Simmons maintained his silence, political observers continued to speculate on the character of a little-known MP suddenly thrown into the spotlight. Saskatchewan Tory MP Roy MacPherson recalled that Simmons was part of a parliamentary committee that visited England last January. In a frolicsome mood, Simmons lapsed over a barman's in front of the British Parliament, caught his vest over the barman and fell backward to the ground. That impulse landed him in hospital with a broken arm and a severely dislocated shoulder. Said MacPherson: "This has not been a good year for Roger Simmons."

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With MacPherson's anger in St. John's.

## A veteran's vindication

Bryan Mackay could not have received a better present. On his 60th birthday last Thursday, he received a letter from the Honourable Minister of Trade President Robert Harris. At week's end and Harris, flanked by the judges as the man "who pulled the strings to make the puppet dance," and Montreal businessman Jacques Royce were both still facing criminal charges related to bribing a public official, despite demands from Harris's lawyer that the charges be dropped in light of the dismissal of charges against Mackay. Royce's status brought an end to five months of agony for the veteran MP. After presiding over 15 days of testimony at a preliminary hearing in June and taking nearly two months to sift through close to 200 documents presented as evidence, Scherzer concluded that the story and the Crown had "an ill-prepared case" to justify laying charges against Mackay. But the outcome of Mackay's personal financial problems, and the bizarre attempt to solve them, which led to the criminal charges being laid, were already in the public domain.

Last May Mackay was charged with accepting a \$400,000 bribe to use his influence in 1981 and 1982 with the Minister of Supply and Services Jean-Jacques Blais. He was accused of attempting to obtain government aviation contracts for a Montreal company, Les Ateliers d'Aviation Hal Lim. The charges formed one of stories by *The Gazette* in Montreal last March quoting Mackay as saying that Mackay was a "paid lobbyist" for the company. Mackay immediately demanded that the House of Commons standing committee on privileges and elections investigate whether or not *The Gazette* had breached his parliamentary privileges. After several days of testimony, those hearings were suspended when the criminal charges were laid. Despite the ferocious nature of Scherzer's ruling, Crown prosecutor Michel Saint-Gyr said that he would drop whether or not to lay charges against Mackay after he reviews the lengthy dossier.

Testimony at the preliminary hearing revealed that Mackay's financial affairs were in disarray. By 1981, despite an MP's salary, a partly pension of about \$100,000 a year and a salary of Air Canada and an estimated \$20,000 a year in consulting fees, Mackay was deeply in debt. He owed the Bank of Montreal \$685,000 for loans used to build a stock portfolio — including speculative mining stock — which had decreased in value to \$175,000. But at the preliminary hearing, Mackay

able to put a person on trial on such flimsy evidence." Vindicated by the judgment, the member of Parliament and former cabinet minister enhanced his wife, Margaret, and himself. "I'm very happy." However, Mackay, understandably, was less than pleased with the extensive media coverage of the case. "I'm a great believer in the freedom of the press, and the press has had great freedom to play with my name, my reputation, in headlines. I have courted 87 times of potential libel," he told reporters after the verdict.



Simmons last week of press conference: "personal, personal, personal"

"personal means personal." For his part, Simmons said in a letter he approved from Green. "I agree that the personal reasons involved necessitate the action and regret that under the circumstances you will be unable to continue in the ministry." Then both Trudeau's office and Simmons lapsed into stammer silence. But the matter would not die. Late last week the Ottawa *Citizen* reported that Simmons was being investigated for "tax irregularities," and there was a growing clamor for an explanation (left in Ottawa and in Simmons' riding).

Mackay's has confirmed the Justice department officials are studying the possibility of tax evasion charges against Simmons, based on evidence sent to them by Revenue Canada. The Revenue Canada tax official's recommendations that Simmons be prosecuted. So far, there is no indication whether those charges will actually be laid. Officials in both departments agree that usually an individual knows an investigation is under way because an inquiry involves a thorough audit and lengthy interviews with investigators. Mackay's has also learned that the investigation is related to income received while Simmons was a member of the Newfoundland House of Assembly from 1973 to mid-1976. It is unclear whether Simmons men-

one occasion he decided not to bring an suit into the cabinet because the MP found a civil law penalty. The MP eventually became a minister after he had proved his innocence. "He [Simmons] was hoping it would remain a deep, dark secret," and a senior government official. "Well, he was being against hope."

Simmons' 10-day journey into the cabinet raised serious concerns about the screening procedure used in cabinet appointments. The Prime Minister's Office usually asks the Royal Canadian Mounted Police prior to a cabinet appointment if there is any reason why a candidate should not be accepted. The

best individual. "But if, and I say, if he is involved in tax evasion or whatever, the damage to the Liberal Party here is going to take a while to wear off," added Crocker. "Mr. Simmons does not owe an explanation to the whole country — he was only in the cabinet 10 days. The only people as even an explanation is to the people who elected him. He owes them a good explanation."

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Mackay: "not a shred of evidence"

that a numbered company owned by Harrison, 908890 Canade Ltd., borrowed \$400,000 guaranteed by Bryson, who owned Les Ateliers Hall, from the Bank of Montreal in November, 1981, to buy Mackay's portfolio. That \$400,000 was then paid to the bank against Mackay's \$425,000 debt. The bank also accepted a \$50,000 payment, money which Mackay had obtained in the form of a loan from grain merchant Robert Servais, president of Agri Co. Co. of Canada, as settlement of the remaining debt.

In effect, the responsibility for repaying the \$400,000 was transferred to the numbered company, and through it to the late Arthur's daughter, Hall Line Industries. But the bank had agreed to transfer the debt, not as a special favour to Mackay because of his position, but because it hoped it had a better chance of recovering its money from the company. Schecter said that the bank had made a "business judgment" motivated with a drop of compassion. "The Crown alleged that Mackay owed (especially) due its influence with Hall to get government contracts for Les Ateliers d'Outillage Hall Line (Hall confirmed that Mackay had sold him about Les Ateliers). However, the affidavit that Mackay asserted no pressure but made representations in the normal course of an M's responsibilities." It is his ruling, Schecter said that, for an M who wanted to help create jobs in Quebec, the fact that Mackay had contacted Hall was "not only admissible but inadmissible." (Although Mackay now represents the Ontario mining of Lincoln, he was MP for the Montreal riding of Verdun for 14 years.) As for damages, Schecter said he got at least \$250,000 more than they were worth as the asset market. Schecter agreed with the submission of Mackay's lawyer, Raphael Schecter, that the deal was "a most astute fishery business transaction." Barely eight months after the deal, however, was approved in November, 1981, Les Ateliers d'Outillage Hall Line went into receivership, and the Bank of Montreal wrote off the money as a loss.

Mackay may now face pressure from members of the provincial committee looking into the allegations for resumption of its hearings into the matter. However, with last week's ruling, the mass subject of the committee's attention is now likely to be the media in general—and the chronic is particularly so. In their side in the affair, lawyer Schecter says that his client is resting for a week before deciding if he will pursue this action against the media. And finally, Mackay must come to his own conclusions about Schecter's judgment that he did find Harrison had "exploited" him.

—ANDREW BRUNNEN IN MONTREAL

## The PQ sets sail for Ottawa

Canada may soon have its first single-issue party operating at the federal level. For the past two years elements in René Lévesque's Parti Québécois have promoted the notion of a separatist presence in Ottawa. But until now Premier Lévesque has opposed the idea of running federal candidates under the PQ banner, largely because he feared that such a move would "legitimize" the federal system. But last week a long-term proponent of a PQ-Ottawa candidate, PQ MNA Marcel Lévesque, produced a proposal that is likely to win acceptance at a meeting of the powerful PQ national council next month.



Lévesque's party plans show that the votes are there

Lévesque's plan is to build a new party, using as a foundation a struggling federal party, the Union Populaire. With the PQ's primary motive behind it, Lévesque is confident that a revitalized Union Populaire, under a new name, will win 10 of the province's 75 federal ridings. If that happens, says Lévesque, "we will be the first federal party that does not have pan-Canadian interests or responsibilities."

Lévesque's dogged campaign to get the Quebec bastion has not been an easy one. Last year Lévesque fired his own minister of the environment largely because of his persistence on the issue. But last June, despite Lévesque's opposition, an overwhelming majority of PQ riding representatives attending a

meeting of the national council voted to approve Lévesque's idea. The vote was further proof of Lévesque's increasing hold on party members, who are increasingly disillusioned with his leadership. It also underlined the party's determination to defend Quebec's interests in Ottawa at all costs. Private party polls taken over the past year show that more than 60 per cent of Quebec voters would support a separatist candidate in a federal election.

Lévesque, who will likely become the leader of the new party, has very practical reasons for turning to the Union Populaire. Although the Union's last electoral defeat in the 1980 election received fewer than 15,000 votes in total, the party is already a legal federal entity. That status would permit the revamped party to launch an immediate campaign for funds, which donors would be able to deduct from income taxes. A Union party campaign expected to be organized in early September will choose a name, a platform and a leader. Said Lévesque: "Since I'm the insomniac leader and I have from all this organizing, I expect that I shall be elected leader."

The appeal of a narrowly based federal party could rest in its special-interest focus. These elected will be expected to defend Quebec's interests "to the end," said Lévesque. "We will address projects that help other provinces and don't hurt Quebec, but we will fight to the end and any plan that hurts Quebec," he added. The supporters of such a party, he said, would likely be voters who support independence or who just want an MP who will put Quebec's needs first.

The announcement comes when support for separatism is at its lowest level ever in Quebec. At a much vaunted youth summit meeting organized by the PQ government, delegates last week voted 221 to 130 to defuse a motion supporting independence. The new PQ to tackle the federal Liberals in order to fight for Quebec.

—ANDREW BRUNNEN IN MONTREAL



Receivers at Fishery Products Ltd.; Pickford (below) controlling the archery

## Dark days in Atlantic Canada

Employees noted the dark prospect at noon. Half an hour later they met with briefings launched at the front entrance of Fishery Products Ltd., carrying documents that would end its restructuring with its Newfoundland's largest fishing company. But as company secretaries and executives peeked from behind doors draped, company lawyer George Horan turned them away, saying, "I advise you that you are denied access to this building." The activity ended a week of unprecedented turmoil for the Newfoundland fishing business, but it was only the beginning of a controversy which has drawn the government of Newfoundland once again into a major battle with its archery, Ottawa.

The Bank of Nova Scotia, the major creditor for Newfoundland's battered fishing industry, decided last week to

the bank appeared to have become impatient with the progress of Ottawa's reorganization plans for the fisheries and decided to take action.

The trouble began on July 4, when Fisheries Minister Pierre De Lauro called Newfoundland's fisheries by announcing a unilateral federal government move to reorganize Newfoundland's three largest debt-ridden fishing companies—the Lake Group, Fishery Products, and John Penney and Sons—into one giant firm. The plan was devised by Michael Kirby, who was appointed by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau in January, 1982, to solve the perennial problems of the East Coast fishery. The resulting 11 recommendations for reorganizing the entire fishery, released last February, were controversial by themselves, but his plans to restructure the larger plants in both Newfoundland and Nova Scotia have been opposed by fishermen and provincial governments and even De Lauro himself, in case Kirby intends to dissolve the three Newfoundland companies, whose debts are more than \$100 million, incorporate their assets in one giant Newfoundland-based company, and reject the new enterprise with a federal subsidy of \$50 million.

But the companies were not grateful, and

their resentments may have prompted the fishermen last week by the bank, the largest secured creditor in the business, with an estimated \$100 million in loans. That action prompted bitter opposition among industry and fisheries union officials in Newfoundland that the fishermen were orchestrated by the federal government as the simplest way to take control of the assets. "It's obvious that the federal government and the banks were in collusion and that the government has used the bank as a tool to do things it wants with the fishery of Newfoundland," declared Newfoundland Fisheries Minister Jim Murphy. Of the three, Fishery Products, with an estimated debt of \$87 million, displayed the strongest resistance, refusing to hand over the keys to an operation that provides roughly 1,500 jobs and owns eight fish plants and a fleet of about 40 trawlers. John Penney and Sons has one plant and five boats, while the Lake Group has seven plants, 33 trawlers and provides roughly 2,000 jobs.

The receivers will continue to operate the companies until buyers are found, opening the door to the province to re-organize the fishery. The fishery assets of the firms will be put up for sale, and Premier Brian Pickford said the province may make a bid. Then he denounced both Ottawa and the banks, saying, "Others outside this province are now attempting to take full control of the fishery of Newfoundland and Labrador with a potential ruin of events the painful restructuring plan." Pickford was referring to a federal-provincial settlement plan of the 1980s, under which thousands of outposts would be closed in exchange for jobs, either against their will. It is a Newfoundland neighbor for aggressive government intervention. Then Pickford's powerful grandfather, Newfoundland's union president, Michael Kirby, far from seeing the province "believe that it is being done in tandem, between Kirby and the banks, likely because Fishery Products is not voluntarily prepared to go along with the restructuring," said Kirby. But the banks and Kirby's negotiators maintained in their brief remarks last week that the bank acted on its own as the fishermen to protect its debt. A federal fisheries spokesman said that the restructuring was unfolding as planned, despite the disagreement.

De Lauro, on vacation, while the cabinet chairman of the fisheries commission, Don Johnston, was out of reach in the Soviet Union. When they return they will probably not be surprised to find themselves in the midst of another clash with Newfoundland.

—MICHAEL CLAYTON IN St. John's, with files from Newfoundland Joyce



# Vague rules for the sleuths

By Carol Gair

**I**t is a long way from the fast-paced, action-packed world of fiction, and danger to the mostly perfunctory committee room where for the past two weeks eight senators have been debating the realities of writing up Canada's new security agency. Last week the senators agreed, over a question James Doak has never had to ask—where is

necessary to enable them to perform the duties and functions of the Service." MacGilligan told the committee that the government's intention is to allow security agents roughly the same latitude that police officers now have. But he admitted that the current legislation authorizing police to break the law is "not as clear as perhaps it might be."

That mandate was his vague for Liberal Senator Roger Frith, an Ontario



MacGilligan, (below) the code of conduct remains unclear

draw the line between bending the law and breaking it. In his first appearance before the committee, Justice Minister Mark MacGilligan assured the senators that no member of the new intelligence agency would be permitted to commit "serious crimes" with impunity. But the senators insisted to be concerned about the vague wording of Bill C-59, which sets up a civilian spy agency separate from the RCMP. And the senator's own actions spoke louder than his words. Only two days before facing the senators, MacGilligan announced that the government has decided not to prosecute as many as 300 RCMP security agents who systematically operated outside the law in the 1970s in the name of "national security."

The main problem before the senators was that the bill does not set out clearly the new spy agency's operating limits. The bill merely says that security agents are "justified in taking such reasonable actions as are reasonably

lawyer. Earlier in the day John Starnes, a former director general of the secret Security Service, told the committee that an intelligence agency needs the right to forge passports and other documents. Frith asked MacGilligan if he agreed. After a long, uncomfortable pause, the justice minister answered, "It would depend on the circumstances."

MacGilligan's argument was a familiar one. The minister had also cited circumstance as his reason for not prosecuting those Macdonald charged by a royal commission for their clandestine activities in the 1970s. In 1981 the 400-million royal commission headed by Alberta Supreme Court Justice Donald McDonald studying

the RCMP concluded that there were possible violations of the law in cases of arson, theft and mail-opening. It took the justice department two years to respond.

In a 30-page statement released early last week, MacGilligan said that it would simply not be practical to prosecute the members now. The justice minister offered three main reasons:

- The task would be massive. The commission recorded 995 cases of unauthorized mail-opening alone.
- In many instances it is too late to prosecute because the officers involved have retired or because the limitation period for prosecutions has expired.
- It would be unfair to punish individuals who were motivated by a sincere desire to protect national security.

But MacGilligan's carefully worded statement did not appease civil libertarians. Alan Borovoy, general counsel for the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, said, "I wonder when they [liberal authorities] have ever said it was too much work to prosecute civilian wrongdoers. I just don't buy that argument. What a democracy has to insist upon is that there be a single standard, not double standards."

Prudent authorities insist that such arguments are simplistic and naïve. Last week Solicitor General Robert Kaplan told a meeting of the country's police chiefs in Calgary that Canada is threatened by the Soviet Union's 300,000-member KGB—an intelligence agency three times the size of Canada's armed forces. And MacGilligan reminded the senators that terrorism has become an ugly fact of life in Canada in the past five years. He pointed to the 1982 killing of a Turkish diplomat by Armenian terrorists in Ottawa and the bombing of the Litton Systems plant in suburban Toronto last October. MacGilligan insisted that the government merely wants to give Canadian intelligence agents the authority to do their jobs properly.

The senate committee members are not the first to examine the question of police powers. Between 1977 and 1980, the Macdonald commission studied the same issue. After a grueling 313 days of hearings, the commission could only conclude that the government has "never fully discussed and resolved" the question of police lawbreaking. And as the Senate committee completed another week of hearings, it was evident that the issue of standards for Canada's intelligence remains unclear. ☐



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The procession stretched for four kilometers along Quezon Boulevard in Manila last week. Mourners, 15 to 30 ahead, wearing yellow headscarves and black armbands, marched and chanted, "Free our country!" behind the flag-draped coffin of Benigno (Ninoy) Aquino Jr., as it wound its way to the Santo Domingo Roman Catholic Church, where his body, its face still showing a gaping bullet wound, was taken for what amounted to a state funeral. Secretaries and workers looked on from the office buildings lining the boulevard. Along the route, mourners waved placards and signs with the questions, "Who killed our hero?" By the hundreds of thousands they cried, "Ninoy, Ninoy" and "Right, Right, Right," reminding Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos—and the world—of the potency of political martyrdom.

The assassination of Aquino as he stepped off a plane at Manila International Airport on Sep. 21, shattered the hopes of millions of his followers for a renewal of democracy in the Philippines. The single shot from a .357 magnum that felled the charismatic 50-year-old politician raised serious allegations about the potential involvement of authoritarian president Marcos and his base of power, the military. It also gravely affected the chance of moderate vesting power from Marcos in elections this year and indeed the election of 1991, in a presidential election, a semi-direct election of 1991 and was favored heavily again in 1993. When opinion polls showed that he would defeat Imelda Marcos (standing for her husband, who was prevented by the constitution of the day from running for a third term) in a presidential election, Aquino was jailed in 1972 after Marcos declared martial law. Accused of murder, subversion and illegal possession of firearms, Aquino was finally convicted in 1977 and sentenced to death. He was given a conditional release and was allowed to go to the United States in 1980 to have heart surgery. Aquino's eventual return to Manila was fatalistic. On May 21, at the Philippines consulate in New York, Aquino met for 3½ hours with Imelda Marcos (page 13). Marcos' message to her husband's most threatening political foe was clear: Aquino was marked for death. Marcos warned Aquino that if he returned from



Aquino's body lying in state in Manila awaiting democratic hopes

## WORLD/COVER

## THE FURY OF THE

electd mayor of his home town at age 35, governor of Tarlac province at 38, and to the Senate at 34. Emerging as a serious threat to Marcos, who was sworn defeat in 1965, Aquino's Liberal Party fared strongly in the Senate elections of 1971 and was favored heavily again in 1973. When opinion polls showed that he would defeat Imelda Marcos (standing for her husband, who was prevented by the constitution of the day from running for a third term) in a presidential election, Aquino was jailed in 1972 after Marcos declared martial law. Accused of murder, subversion and illegal possession of firearms, Aquino was finally convicted in 1977 and sentenced to death. He was given a conditional release and was allowed to go to the United States in 1980 to have heart surgery. Aquino's eventual return to Manila was fatalistic. On May 21, at the Philippines consulate in New York, Aquino met for 3½ hours with Imelda Marcos (page 13). Marcos' message to her husband's most threatening political foe was clear: Aquino was marked for death. Marcos warned Aquino that if he returned from

Malé there were radicals and even factions within the Philippine government that wanted him dead—and they were beyond the government's control. "Think of your family for a change," Marcos told Aquino. "You can all remain in the United States and enjoy life." Aquino said after the passing belief that Marcos had offered him any amount of money he wanted to support himself, his wife and his five children.

After Aquino indicated that he still wanted to return, the Manila government tried to block him by first refusing to grant travel documents, then threatening to give a false affidavit that would bring an "undocumented passenger" to the Philippines, and finally warning him to delay his trip by 30 days. Aquino delayed it for two weeks.

On June 12, Aquino told supporters in San Francisco that he expected to be placed under house arrest in Manila, at least until after President Ronald Reagan's scheduled visit in November. Believing that, he said, he might be portrayed by Marcos as a new ally in order to discredit him. Or he would be killed. Then, referring to Philippine



The alleged assassin's body, Aquino shortly before his murder (below) a new maug

## PHILIPPINES

martyr José Rizal, who returned from exile in 1896 only to be executed by the Spanish, he declared, "I'll should die at the hand of the oppressor, let it be."

On the weekend, the alleged assassin was identified as Rolando Ventura, a former member of the presidential guard. But who choreographed the assassination remains a mystery. It led to a chorus of demands from abroad for

investigation. Most passengers on China Airlines Flight 815 said that on arrival those soldiers (including one who seized and shook Aquino's hand) escorted him from the plane via a service ladder. As news cameramen tried futilely to follow, a shot was heard, accompanied by three more. Ferdinand Aquino's journalist friend, Ruyos Wakagaya, asserted his original claim that he had seen the shooting, but he still

maintained that Aquino was shot by soldiers and not by a lone gunman, as Philippine authorities claim. Said the 37-year-old journalist: "When Aquino touched the ground and walked two or three steps, the officers accompanying him on either side all of a sudden pulled their guns from their waists. Right at that moment, there was the dry sound of gunshots, bang, bang. Aquino fell forward. There was a pool of blood." Then Wakagaya, admitting that "my eye is not a camera," added, "A man, as if being pushed out, suddenly emerged from the military van that was parked near the aircraft. It appeared that the officers who shot Aquino fired two or three shots into the man's stomach."



The official Philippine version is that the assassin, dressed as an airline maintenance worker, jumped from the AVRE COB (airport security

service) van, shot Aquino and was, in turn, shot by the soldiers. Before Ventura was named, the Marcos regime had posted a \$45,000 reward. Spokesmen said that the name "Rolly" was attached on his underwear and that the letter "R" was engraved on a ring.

An autopsy report released late last week appeared to support Wakagaya's version. The report confirmed that Aquino was shot from above and behind. The bullet entered his head behind his left ear and exited through his jaw. If Aquino was indeed standing when the shot was fired, the bullet passed through his head at an angle of 30 degrees. The government claims that the opposition leader was shot from about 18 inches. But because Aquino was five feet, six inches tall, the 357-magnum gun that killed him would have to have been

fired from a height of just more than five feet, nine inches. The alleged assassin (whose body was left on the tarmac for five hours and who was shot in the back) was only five feet, seven inches tall. He would have to have fired the shot from the steps of the service-entrance of the plane or from inside the van to match the 30-degree trajectory. Or he would have to have been well over six feet, six inches to fire the fatal bullet while standing on the ground.

Marcos now faces growing pressure to solve the mystery from his own people, the opposition parties, his constituents in the Association of South East Asian Nations and the Philippine Congress. The United States Senator Edward Kennedy, for one, wrote to Reagan late last week urging him to cancel his trip to Manila in November. Said Kennedy: "It is unthinkable for an American president to let the Philippines, and the perpetrators of this crime against humanity are brought to justice." The senator, brother of the assassinated U.S. president, also recommended that Congress delay all action as to the Philippines until the Marcos government has issued a full, satisfactory and impartial investigation of the Aquino assassination. "The issues that Marcos must resolve include:

• How did an assassin gain access to the terrace carrying a .357 magnum?  
• How, in full daylight, did the assassin, dressed as an airline maintenance worker, jump from the AVRE COB (airport security



The Marcoses with Aquino in Washington last year, weighing fears of another ban

## COVER

lights and the military knew Aquino's flight number, did the airlines seek out gate number eight. Aquino's disembarkation point:

How did he alone know that Aquino would disembark by the service stairs, wifely did an air force commando empty his Armadillo into the prone body of the alleged assassin.

wifely were two sergeants and a constable, not top ranking officers, sent to detain the nation's most prominent dissident.

wifely are these three soldiers' identities being withheld.

wifely do those soldiers not appear in photographs taken immediately after the shooting.

And who was the man seen running under the nose of the China Airlines 747 with a large bag in his hand.

For hours after the killing, the government refused to disclose Aquino's death to his family, friends, journalists or about 4,000 demonstrators who had gathered outside the airport. Absconded passengers ran through the terminal corridors. Newsman and film crews, whom soldiers had carefully shepherd to the wrong areas of the airport, raced through smoke and incense, when soldiers had carefully shepherd to the wrong areas of the airport, raced through smoke and incense, when soldiers had carefully shepherd to the wrong areas of the airport, raced through smoke and incense.

daughters and a few friends, to the Philippine Army Hospital. There, she was blocked by troops of the elite Special Rangers who were dressed in full combat kit, their Armadillos at the ready. They told her that she was too late. Her son had been dead for hours. So too, apparently, were the hopes of the mod-

## Aquino's widow and family: a populist



erates to unite and defeat Marcos in the National Assembly elections convened for next year. The Philippines have been under Marcos' autocratic rule since he declared martial law in 1972, in order to discourage the U.S.-style constitution, which prevents a president serving more than two four-year terms under normal circumstances. Marcos was elected in 1965, but many Filipinos suspected that he fixed his reelection in 1969. Aquino posed a threat to Marcos because he was considered the only national figure capable of ending the fractured republic. He was widely believed to be the only man capable of rebuilding a liberal Party with a broad enough appeal to attract all the various factions opposed to Marcos. Even the Communist Party expressed the belief that Aquino had a unique popular appeal. After his death, the party praised him for his "humble contributions" to attempts to bring down the Marcos regime. It also named the president, his powerful wife and Gen. Fabian Ver, the Philippine army chief of staff and the nation's top intelligence officer, as being the "masterminds" behind the killing. Communist leaders declared that Aquino was slain as soon as he arrived in Manila because it would have proved even more difficult later—despite the international embarrassment the killing has caused. "If he [Aquino] was allowed to regroup his forces," a party statement read, a confrontation with the Marcos government "on equal or less equal terms would have been inevitable."

Still, Marcos was not without his defenders. "It's not his [Marcos'] style," said former senator Salvador Laurel—initially an opponent—who is president of the 15-member United Nationalist Democratic Organization (UNIDO). "Imelda is a killer," added one Western diplomat. But the composition of the five-member commission established to investigate the assassination satisfied few Filipinos. Members of Aquino's family complained that they had not been consulted, and Aquino's allies denounced it as "biased" and "an insult to the people." The commission, headed by Supreme Court Chief Justice Enrique Fernando, is made up of a former chief justice and three former supreme court judges. "The majority are all Marcos' boys," said Laurel.

The controversy over who will eventually succeed Marcos sharpened last week when he appeared on national television to ask for aid, after Manila suffered electrical failures, minor bank runs and rushes to food stores. The president declared that no one was "more sorrowful and regretful for what has happened in this country." Finally, what the 65-year-old soldier and but how he said it and how he looked that

# The role of the Iron Butterfly

She is known to her troubled countrymen as the "Iron Butterfly." And as the authoritarian wife of the president of the Philippines, Imelda Marcos has proven herself worthy of the title. Indeed, her selfish and ruthless sense as a politician has convinced many Filipinos that she will try to succeed her seriously ill husband. A former beauty queen crowned the "Queen of Tiaras" (after her home town), she was at her husband's side last week when he appeared on national television to deny any involvement in the murder of opposition leader Benigno Aquino. That was a fitting display of faithful unity. Many opponents of the Marcos regime saw Imelda as much as they fear her husband. The first lady, or "First Lady," as she is called in Manila's society columns, explains her interests in public life with a unique combination of charm and menace. "Filipinos realize," she once declared bluntly, "that I am a necessary-evil person."

The intrigues and perquisites of power are clearly important to her. She holds the office of governor of Metro Manila, acts as minister of human settlements and even serves on the powerful 15-member presidential Executive Committee. It is that panel which will decide who will succeed Marcos after his death, and the president has made certain that Imelda will maintain her seat. She has run to the political plate with flying speed. But many insiders doubt that her qualities of leadership will ever substitute for her flamboyance and employed services.

From the beginning, the Marcos marriage had a strongly political flavor. Imelda was the product of a family of judges, government and military men, controlled 500,000 votes in the potent Visayan Islands group. She was a poor relative with little formal education and was often forced to sleep in a garage as a child. Nevertheless, in 1954 she captured her beauty and charm to earn an introduction to Manila society. There she met Marcos, then a dazzling young congressman. During the early years of their marriage there was little indication that Imelda would play anything other than a traditional role—as mother of their three children and administrator of a household of 35 servants. But during her husband's 1969 senate campaign, she threw herself openly and actively into politics. When he decided to run for the presidency in 1969, she arranged his campaign schedule and worked with his advisers. Finally, after Marcos declared martial law in 1972, Imelda began to emerge as a politi-

cal figure in her own right. Her headlong rush for power at the side of a political strongman has led to inevitable comparisons with Eva Peron, the first wife of former Argentine president Juan Peron. Imelda, however, has the comparison: "I was never a prostitute," she once snapped.



Imelda Marcos: extravagant style

Like Eva Peron, Imelda's steady accumulation of power has not produced a solid record of achievement. Unlike the fabled First, Imelda's popular support, like her husband's, has waned sharply in recent years. Many Filipinos complain of corruption in and around the opulent Malacañan Palace, the presidential residence. Asked how the first

lady managed to become so wealthy during the years of martial law (reliable estimates put their worth at more than \$1.6 billion), Imelda replied, "Some are wealthier than others." In Manila, she is known for her "edible complicity"—an aptly built propaganda monument—which has been expensive in economic and human terms. Imelda's \$30-million film festival center was built so hastily that part of the structure collapsed during construction, killing 30 workers. To fund her many civic beautification schemes, Imelda has often tapped tax revenues. But when even her husband has closed the nation's sewage canals to her, she has resorted to a system she calls the "Bureau of Idle Revolving." The bureau is actually a network of wealthy individuals and corporate contributors who are beholden to the Marcos regime for their money. Her projects are often bizarre—like a palace built entirely of concrete. At other times they are disguised with bourgeois compassion for the poor. One project, known as the National Landhold Movement, created \$500 million in cheap loans and venture capital for struggling small businesses and farmers. Still, critics of that plan say it has failed to change the fundamental inequalities in a society in which the average weekly income is \$15.

Imelda's extravagant personal style has both amused and infuriated Filipinos. When she and her husband traveled to the United States last year for an official visit, Imelda arrived in New York with 300 assistants and 40 assistants. Her globe-trotting shopping spree was legendary. She once bought her husband a luxury jet, then she insisted to store it in Hawaii to avoid upsetting Filipinos who were concerned about the nation's grinding poverty.

Despite her personal details that she is interested in uncovering her husband's wealth, he did not deny it. Imelda remains a prime candidate. She will likely face strong competition from members of the military and close Marcos aides, like Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile. In the event that she is overpowered, she may take refuge in a question of Imelda estate: the presidential couple bought for \$1 million on Long Island, near New York. But her ability to remove enemies and potential threats is widely known. And for the Iron Butterfly of the Philippines, the first sign to the top may be increased.

—JAMES MCKENNA, in Toronto, with correspondents' reports

# An expensive and vital U.S. asset



Subic Bay naval base, the puppet has the United States on a string

A foreign military presence has been a day-to-day reality in the Philippines for more than four centuries. The 7,100-island archipelago was colonized by the Spanish in 1565 and taken over by the United States as its first colony after the Spanish-American war in 1898. In 1903 the U.S.-American pact the Tydings-McDuffie Act, setting up a 10-year commonwealth with Washington under which the Philippines gained internal autonomy, to be followed by independence. Then the Japanese invaded the islands in 1942, and independence could not be granted until 1946. Even then, the United States attached a vital rider to the independence accord—the Subic Bay naval base and the Clark air force installation would remain under U.S. control. Those U.S. military posts, the largest beyond the continental United States, are now the central focus of Washington's involvement in and concern over the current crisis in the Philippines.

The bases are enormous. Clark, located 110 km northwest of Manila in central Luzon, covers 130,000 acres. It is the home of the 12th Air Force, the 3rd Tactical Fighter Wing and the 37th Tactical Air Wing. More than 8,000 U.S. Air Force personnel are stationed at the base, and it employs more than 2,000 Filipinos. Subic, nestled in a deep bay at the base of the Bataan Peninsula 180 km west of Manila, spans 60,000 acres. It is the home port of the massive U.S. 7th Fleet, made up of 50 ships and 425 carrier-borne aircraft. The complex

includes a ship repair facility with three floating dry docks, a supply depot stocking 800,000 pieces of military equipment, valued at more than \$100 million, and a magazine storing \$250 million worth of mounted guns, cannon and ammunition. The fleet has 50,000 sailors and marines, and the base, which employs approximately 2,000 Filipinos, has 6,000 on-shore naval personnel. On any given day, 16 to 13 ships of the fleet are in the Subic harbor.

Under the independence agreement

of 1946, the United States was granted a rent-free lease on the bases until 1991. But Ferdinand E. Marcos changed that. The United States has been paying rent, in the form of military and economic aid, for the past five years. Washington is heavily ensnared not only with the bases on which it maintains its security commitments in the Pacific and extends its presence into the Indian Ocean. It is also from these bases that the United States patrols the Persian Gulf and contains the expanding Soviet naval activity from bases in Vietnam.

Nationalism is a potent force in the islands and, as with many U.S. allies, it now turns into anti-Americanism very easily. Marcos has not been shy about whipping up such feelings in order to exact increasingly stiffer rent terms. In 1979 President Jimmy Carter agreed to pay an annual fee of \$100 million for five years. But Marcos flatly rejected Carter's efforts to trade off human rights reform in exchange for the increased aid. Then, last May, the Reagan administration signed a new accord which grants the Philippines \$500 million over the next five years. The pact calls for \$120 million in military assistance grants, \$300 million in foreign military sales credits and \$470 million in economic aid—an 83-percent increase over the Carter agreement, but \$600 million short of Marcos' first demand. The military sales credits come with a 10-year grace period and a 10-year repayment term as opposed to the two-year grace and seven-year repayment terms of the 1976 agreement. The United States estimates that as addi-

tional \$150 million flows to the Philippine economy from employment at Philippine bases and from spending by U.S. servicemen. Indeed, even the behavior of the sailors and airmen was addressed in the new agreement. Part of the \$150 million is economic aid in compensation for the "social costs" of the military installations. Among the costs cited by the Marcos government during the negotiations in May were widespread prostitution, drug abuse, unwanted American children.

Marcos has been able to exact such a heavy toll (including territorial sovereignty over the bases, which now fly Philippine flags) and are under the supervision of Philippine commanders) because they are so vital to the United States. Pentagon analysts consider Clark to be an essential bridge between the Pacific and the Indian oceans and a gateway to the Middle East. If the United States were denied access to Mediterranean ports, Clark is the damaged base in Pentagon plans for supplying Israel, defending the new U.S. naval facility on the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean and as a staging point for resupplying war zones in Africa. In the case of a Soviet invasion of Iran and a sweep on the South Atlantic, the first major counterattack would be launched from Clark—30 hours away by bomber, 10 days by ship. In any future Korean conflict, outposts place call for 9,000 cargo flights from Clark in the first 90 days. And without Subic the 7th Fleet would be scattered across ports in the Western Pacific.

As a result, when the United States protests against the rent increases, or condemns human rights abuses, Marcos inevitably reminds Washington that the base agreement can be cancelled, at a year's notice, by either side and that the Soviets are always ready to do business. It is a threat underlaid by the Marcos' trip to Moscow in 1978 but tempered by economic realities. The United States is the Philippines' largest trading partner with two-way commerce exceeding \$5.6 billion annually (Japan and the Netherlands are second and third respectively). The United States also provides roughly half of the foreign investment in the archipelago, and at more than \$1.3 billion. Still, although the Philippines' foreign debt is close to \$12.3 billion and its payments deficit reached \$1.4 billion last year, because of Clark and Subic bases the puppet has the United States on a string. The string was cut in 1990.

—NAIL QUDUS in Toronto, with William Lenter in Manila

## COVER

attracted the greatest attention. Frijoles have suspected for months that Marcos is ill. And on television his face appeared puffy, his head movements awkward and his speech slurred. Many analysts now suspect that the president is suffering from lupus, a disorder of the body's connective tissues, which is not always fatal but produces such symptoms as painful joints, fatigue and dizziness. Other experts suspect that he is suffering from a kidney ailment. Marcos' sudden decline in health, likely to have begun in early July, seems to have coincided with Aquino's decision to finally return to Manila. "It would be interesting to know," said an Asian diplomat last week, "whether Aquino knew that the president was about to have a

Through carefully managed news leaks, Shuts let it be known that the United States is very concerned about losing access to the vital Clark air force base and Subic naval base, the largest American military bases outside the United States, after Marcos relinquishes power. To test real Shuts quickly indicated that the Reagan administration was seeking to open lines of communication to Filipino opposition groups that might someday share or hold power. The U.S. Embassy in Manila has been instructed to establish links with those groups and to explore ways for the United States to retain the bases after a power shift. (Such links have already been established with the military, which is not expected to sece-



Slum street in Manila: an urgent search for new links among contentious factions

kidney transplant and pleaded to come home to be present should the president die.

U.S. officials say that intelligence reports confirm that Marcos is suffering from a kidney disease and that it is getting progressively worse. They add that he will require longer periods of rest and that eventually, within the next three or four years—he will be forced to return. But Marcos has not groomed a successor, except for Benito, and it appears that he has no plans to do so. As a result, his supporters have split into factions, each hoping to succeed him. One, led by the military, is believed by many U.S. officials to be responsible for Aquino's death.

Fearing a repeat of the mistakes and terrible consequences in Iran that followed the death of the shah, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz made an inspection visit to Manila in June

power or attempt a coup and Marcos stays down.) U.S. diplomats say that while Marcos is aware that various factions are vying for power, he has been unable to control them and that he is particularly wary of the military. That has led many experts in Washington to suspect that the military orchestrated Aquino's death—seeing him as the United States' favored link. As a result, there is little likelihood that the investigation into the killing will produce any concrete results. And fear is growing in Washington that the Aquino administration has signaled the beginning of the end for Marcos, heightening the urgency to forge new links with the outcasted factions within the Philippines.

Those factions have roots deep in the history of the 7,100-island archipelago, with its 90 million residents. Only 603 of the islands are larger than a square





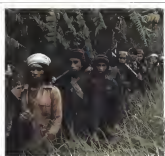
mils, and therefore the country is probably fragmented. Moslems are one of the principal minorities and they have been in a state of armed rebellion against the central government almost constantly since the Spanish first colonized the islands in 1565. The Moslems constitute four per cent of the population, but Catholicism is practiced by more than 80 per cent of Filipinos, a religious legacy from the centuries when the church exercised temporal as well as spiritual power on behalf of the Spanish crown.

The Spaniards were driven out in 1898 by U.S. troops, with the support of Filipino rebels, to whom the Americans had promised independence. Instead, the United States bought the islands from Spain for \$20 million at the conclusion of the war. It took two years of war—the first American war against guerrillas—to subdue most of the islands. Still, the Americans were uncomfortable with warring a colony, and at the very beginning of U.S. rule, the Americans set to work with turns-of-the-century fervor to prepare the Philippines for U.S.-style democracy.

The period of American rule created high expectations for the Filipinos, and an educational campaign provided them with a knowledge of alternative government systems. Socialism, for one thing, became extremely popular under the Communist-led Hukbalahap group, which went on to become one of the most effective guerrilla forces against the Japanese from 1942 to 1944.

When independence was finally granted in 1946, most of the socialists were prepared to practice politics within the system. But since Marcos declared martial law 11 years ago, none and more people rebelled against his repression and formed underground resistance groups. The Philippines now has the largest active guerrilla war in Southeast Asia.

It was because of Marcos' almost fanatical spying that Reagan belatedly invaded Manila on his planned Asian tour in November. When the White House remembered six weeks ago that Reagan would visit Indonesia, Thailand, Japan and South Korea, the Philippines was not included. But after re-



Advocates of guerrillas: a perhaps more dangerous opponent

ceiving Marcos' message that the south could adversely affect future negotiations over Clark and Subic Bay, a second announcement was issued from Washington including Manila in the agenda. Not immediately after the announcement, the White House announced that the situation in the Philippines was under close scrutiny and that if civil unrest or riots erupt in the next few weeks, Reagan's plans will be reconsidered.

In the short term, the Marcos govern-

Laurel, Aquino's mother, despoiling tribute



ment may benefit from Aquino's death—it has been freed of a potentially dangerous opponent. But in the longer term, the winner may be the underground Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) because it is the best-organized opposition group. The CPP and its armed wing, the New People's Army, have grown rapidly in the past few years. When the party was founded in 1968, it had a few dozen members and fewer guns. Now, estimates of the strength of the military wing alone place its numbers at as many as 10,000 fighters.

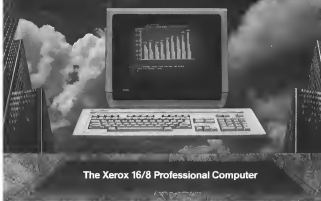
The CPP has established a sophisticated network of front organizations by recruiting farmers, workers, students, professionals and even church people. Priests and nuns are involved in political and social actions—the best-known Communist Roman Catholic, Rev. Gerardo Belver, for one, leads a guerrilla unit in the main northern island of Luzon.

Underground cadres sometimes predict the outbreak of a civil war uprising which will sweep the Marcos regime away. But more often they say that their fight will last for years, perhaps decades. "But we are in a better position than most revolutionaries," said one cadre. "Many first-generation activists in other countries do not expect the change to come in their lifetimes. Here, it will. It will come in our lifetime, and we already have people working on post-revolutionary policies."

The post-Aquino politics of the Marcos government and the future of the Philippines are less clear. Five hundred thousand mourners filed past his coffin last week, a despoiling tribute to their latest martyr—and perhaps a cry for the present of an opportunity to form a moderate opposition. "I feel it is my duty, as it is the duty of every Filipino," Aquino had planned to say in his post-mortem statement, "to suffer with my people, especially in times of crisis." His growing legions of followers obviously believed that Aquino had done his duty—for seven years and seven months in confinement, in nearly three years of exile, and last week on the tarmac at Manila International Airport. Now it may be their turn.

With Richard Tokoy and Paul Simon-Judge in Manila, William Leovier in Washington, Peter Molloy in Tokyo, David Thomas Byrne in Toronto and Carol Goss in Ottawa.

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Shimon Peres (left), Begin: The prime minister had not produced an obvious successor and his departure would create a vacuum.

## WORLD

# Begin's guarded farewell

By Eric Silver

Two years ago conservative and controversial Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin predicted that, after three decades in power, he would resign when he was 70. He waited 12 days beyond that birthday, but on Sunday, without consulting colleagues or advisers, Begin told a cabinet meeting that he planned to resign the position he has held for the past six turbulent years.

Begin scheduled a meeting Monday with leaders of the five coalition parties, so disenchanted cabinet ministers urged him to reconsider his decision. Supporters, meanwhile, backed up posters urging him to stay. Begin also planned an official meeting with Israeli President Chaim Herzog, but he pronounced his decision that he would not submit his resignation before the meeting with his government partners.

Deputy Prime Minister David Levy said that Begin's decision to resign was not final. But the prime minister, citing personal reasons, may finally have determined to give up the leadership of the nation he helped to found in 1948. He has been depressed since last November when his wife and confidant, Aliza, died. In addition, Begin has suffered two heart attacks and a stroke. All the while he has attempted to deal with the aftermath of the Israeli invasion

of Lebanon, an active anti-war movement at home and a mounting economic crisis.

Begin's threatened resignation immediately plunged Israel into political confusion as various factions began jockeying for power. Under Israeli law the formal resignation of a prime minister automatically takes effect in 48 hours. The president must either call for a new election or ask someone else to form a government. Herzog could call on any of the parties in the Knesset, including Shimon Peres' Labor opposition.

If elections are called, the latest opinion polls show that Begin's unstable, five-party Likud coalition could expect to win a narrow parliamentary majority. But in recent weeks, faced with an inflation rate running at 130 percent and a series of balance-of-payment crises that have led to sharp cuts in social services, Begin's coalition has been shaken. Over the past year, the Likud, which represents Israel's North African immigrants, threatened to pull its three elected members out of the coalition, which would reduce Likud strength to 61 seats in the 120-seat parliament.

Begin's departure will spark fierce leadership battles both within the Likud, where there is no obvious successor, and in the Opposition Labor Party. The main contenders for Begin's post are the soft spoken, effusive

defense minister Moshe Arens, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shimon, a highly experienced and respected statesman, and Levy. Labor leader Shimon Peres, who has never done well in the polls, is likely to face a challenge in his own ranks from former prime minister Yitzhak Rabin.

The most visible and immediate problem that any prime minister will face is the situation in Lebanon. As warring Christian forces and Druse militias exchanged fire in the Chouf Mountains, near Beirut, last week Israel declared that it is fully determined to withdraw all occupation forces from the Chouf to the Awali River, 40 km south.

Such a pullback will almost certainly lead to a severe struggle for supremacy in the Chouf between the Druse and the Lebanese Army.

Before Begin's announcement, Israel's tarnished international reputation seemed to be recovering. A flurry of diplomatic activity in recent months indicated that Israel is gradually being readmitted into the world community. Israeli officials quietly engaged these contacts in a world that seemed implacably hostile only a few months ago.

According to Israelis, the tough recommendations from an independent inquiry into last year's massacre of an estimated 700 to 800 Palestinian refugees outside Beirut enabled Jerusalem to begin the process of international re-

conciliation. To that end, they invited Liberian President Samuel Doe to become the first black African leader to visit in more than a decade. West African nations, the most countries on the continent, broke with Israel during the 1973 Yom Kippur War. Now, Israel is again offering attractive military and economic aid to African countries. Doe, for one, quickly discovered the value of co-operating with the Israelis. In exchange for Liberian diplomatic representation in Tel Aviv, Israel pledged to expand its aid program and to provide Doe's government with information as the architect of its armistice. Libyan President Muammar Khaddafi, who slammed other north and west African states for sending his forces into Chad last month.

Israel has been actively wooing the continent for several years. There are already 4,000 Israeli agricultural, military and industrial advisers at work in 20 African countries. Their increasing presence has started to pay off. Israel's trade with Africa has risen steadily since the 1973 diplomatic schism.

But Israel's present success has been its ability to improve its standing with its most important and powerful ally, the United States. On Aug. 18, in a quiet ceremony in Washington, officials of both countries formally signed a \$3-billion arms deal involving the sale to Israel of 15 F-16 jets, a transaction that had been frozen after the invasion of Lebanon. Most observers say that Washington decided to restore its close relations with Jerusalem after Israel signed a peace accord with Lebanon on May 31.

Israel's advent diplomatic success placed the Americans in the uncomfortable role of the main powermakers in Lebanon. Special U.S. envoy Robert McFarlane negotiated feverishly last week to prevent the feared Israeli-led Chouf. The Christian Phalange party, meanwhile, dispatched long columns of militiamen and artillery into positions in the Chouf in preparation for the expected struggle.

Ironically, the departure of Israeli occupation troops from the Chouf threatens to destabilize the whole country.

The man who signed the historic peace treaty with Egypt in 1978, and who just four years later ordered the invasion of Lebanon, may be leaving, but only after dislodging the troubled Israeli presence in Lebanon. As Begin withdrew to his Jerusalem home to ponder his final decision, supporters outside sang, "Begin, King of Israel, will live forever." With the new leadership of Israel in doubt, Begin's departure, whatever its timing, will create a profound vacuum.

With David Weisler in Toronto



Campaigners Mondale (above), Glenn (below) in a friendly approach.

## THE UNITED STATES

# A sizzling political race

A campaign is languishing in one of the hottest summers on record, but the campaign for the 1984 Democratic presidential nomination has developed a frenetic pace, usually reserved for colder months. As Democratic contenders are following whirlwind schedules across the country, speaking at farm fairs, major conventions, amusement parks and news conferences. In sharp contrast, President Ronald Reagan is waiting calmly at his California ranch, waiting to officially announce his candidacy for the Republican nomination. And as the president relaxes, he can also quietly relish the steadily improving economic outlook and his own partial recovery in the public opinion polls.

For the Democrats, Reagan's strength has eased some anxiety among the contenders seeking the party's nomination next July in San Francisco. But even after more than six months on the road, the candidates are still studiously maintaining a gentlemanly bearing, sidestepping the determination to dispense the party's past divisions. Last week, in fact, the candidates agreed to stage a series of debates this fall. They were also unanimous in their belief that Texas Republican Senator John Tower will resign next year after 28 years in the Senate. But even the loss of a valued ally failed to dim Reagan's high standing.

The main Democratic beneficiary of Reagan's rebound has been Ohio Sen-



ator Jean Glavin, the first American to orbit the Earth. Glavin's sons of aerospace heroism and his unimpaired reputation were here largely compromised for his lackluster performance during nine years in the Senate. Glavin is now running neck and neck in opinion polls with former vice-president Walter Mondale, who is considered to be the favorite of most party regulars and unpaid labor. Glavin has also begun outpacing Reagan himself in opinion polls. One recent column in Angus Boreas, a North Carolina Democratic party activist, "I think that our only chance to win is with John Glavin," he said. "He is the closest thing to an Eisenhower in many years."

Glavin's main rival, Mondale, seems to be losing his grip on first place. But while the Minnesota Democrat has slipped in straw polls, he remains several points ahead of Reagan. He is highly popular among party officials and officeholders who will control 60% of the 3,000 delegates at the Democratic convention. Mondale is also the likely choice for endorsement by labor groups such as the U.M.W. and the powerful teachers' union. He also has the strongest campaign funding. Mondale has raised \$5.1 million in the first half of this year and is expected to exceed \$9 million by Jan. 1. That is more than twice the amount raised by Glavin and at least five times more than has been collected by any of the four "dark horse" candidates. California Senator Alan Cranston, Colorado Senator Gary Hart, former Florida governor Reubin Askew and South Carolina Senator Ernest Hollings.

Mondale's edge in money and—if he does indeed win the support of organized labor—on volunteers may be decisive in next year's primaries. The majority of Jimmy Carter's upset victories in the early 1976 primaries is still fresh, and Democratic officials have refused next year's series of contests to minimize the risk of an unknown candidate gaining "bedeviling" momentum by focusing on try, try, finally, wins.

If no single candidate secures a clear lead before the party reaches San Francisco, it would create the first national political convention in a generation to be swayed by personal speeches and negotiations. But so far, the Democratic contenders seem intent on avoiding the brutal personal attacks that characterized the 1980 nomination battle between Jimmy Carter and Massachusetts Senator Edward Kennedy. Despite the difficulty of unseating an incumbent president, next year's Democratic contest can at least count on unusually enthusiastic troops.

—TIM GATSON  
in New York

## CHAD

# The gathering clouds of war

On the shell-scarred outskirts of N'Djamena, French Ambassador Claude Soubaste solemnly dug a hole in the parched ground last week to celebrate Chad's national plant—a few weeks. The absurdity of the occasion failed to detract from its uneasy symbolism. As French President Francois Mitterrand's stepped-up peace initiatives appeared increasingly hopeless and rebel forces continued their ad-

vancement, As French Defense Minister Charles Hernu landed in N'Djamena to review his troops. Lt. Col. Denis Raboin, commander of the French Red Berets manning the eastern gateway of Abbeche, declared, "We're arming ourselves with patience."

Patience seemed essential after Mitterrand's long-awaited public statement on the Chad conflict sent a hostile reaction. The French president sent a warning, informing Libyan leader Col. Muammar Khadafi that French paratroopers would fight back if attacked. For his part, Khadafi appeared ready to pull Mitterrand's bluff. Rumors swirled in N'Djamena that 1,500 rebels and Libyan, accompanied by 100 Libyan armored vehicles, were moving south. But Mitterrand also confirmed Chad's president, Hissene Habré, that he could not count on French military muscle to help him regain the zone of Faya-Largeau, which fell to former president Goukouni Oueddei's Libyan-backed rebels last month.

In response, Habré made clear his anger at what he considers a clear lack of French support. During an official visit by Paris's president, Mubutu Sese Seko, Habré contended that French military aid—the largest foreign expedition mounted since the end of the Algerian War—was still "inappropriate." Diplomats now believe that if Habré is determined to repulse the north by force, he may have to rely on Muammar's 2,500 soldiers, who began arriving in Chad in July, accompanied by seven Israeli military advisers.

Meanwhile, Mitterrand strove to minimize his differences with Washington over the Chad affair. As a sign of his goodwill, he acknowledged that Washington had cooperated in withdrawing its two AWAC radar planes from the Sudan, where they had been sent at the outbreak of Libya's invasion of Chad. The French had felt that the deployment of the U.S. planes was a sign that France could not manage the terms alone.

Still, Mitterrand's strong stand failed to reassure the French people, who do not want France to be dragged into a distant and expensive war. The influential Paris daily *Le Monde* commented that the president's justification for his intervention seemed unconvincing. Indeed, French officials now are preparing for either Khadafi or Habré to light the spark that could explode into an unwanted second confrontation and reduce to rubble Ambassador Soubaste's newly laid ties.

—MARC McDONALD in Paris



Mubutu Sese Seko: 'Inappropriate' aid



Democracy of the Lincoln Memorial: Jackson (below) made Dallas to be won

## THE UNITED STATES

# Reliving a martyr's dream

They gathered together on the misty grounds of Washington's estate Lincoln Memorial. Chanting "John, peace and freedom," more than 20,000 demonstrators converged Saturday to remember an earlier rally—seen led by the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in 1963. It was on the steps of the memorial 20 years ago that King electrified the nation with his emotional cry, "I have a dream." That became the rallying point for the civil rights movement during the 1960s. But last week the demonstrators also came to press new causes and speak out on continuing social issues: unemployment, sexual discrimination and racial harassment. King's widow, Coretta Scott King, told the multiracial gathering that there are still more battles to win. "We still have a dream," she said, "and we have some hard today to reaffirm our commitment to the dream of justice."

The principal target of the protest was the Reagan administration. As the peaceful crowd swelled in the Sun summer heat, Coretta King charged, "This administration is out of touch with all but an elite group of Americans." Reagan, for his part, sent a message of sympathy to the rally in King's memory, but most people in the crowd paid little attention to it.

Whether last week's demonstration will serve to launch drives for new social rights victories remains to be seen. Yet one indication of how far blacks have come since that summer day in

1963 appeared in the form of a message on a T-shirt seen at the rally. The message referred to Rev. Jesse Jackson, who may seek the Democratic presidential nomination next year, of the first black ever to do so. The message urged simply, "Rev Jesse run."



## THE SOVIET UNION

# Andropov closes a nuclear loophole

Soviet leader Yuri Andropov's latest speech after brought a ray of hope to the destabilized nuclear arms limitation talks in Geneva—but set only a dim one. In a statement last week in the official Soviet newspaper, *Pravda*, Andropov for the first time proposed not only to withdraw many of the Soviet Union's 50-60 intermediate-range missiles from Europe but also to completely dismantle them. The announcement represented a shift by the Soviets toward compromise. Earlier they had proposed removing the single-warhead missiles from Europe but tacitly reserved the right to replace them in Asia. But Andropov's offer also carried an important condition: The Soviets will only accept the no-SS-20, he said, if NATO cancels its planned deployment of missiles in Europe in December.

The initial message from Washington suggested that Andropov's new offer did not go far enough. In a brief statement, White House officials described the move as a "positive sign," but they insisted that other issues must be addressed before an arms agreement can be concluded. U.S. negotiators have demanded that Moscow drop its insistence on retaining 162 SS-20s in Europe to counterbalance intermediate missiles controlled by Britain and France. The British and French weapons, the Americans say, are independent delivery weapons and fall outside the mandate of the Geneva talks.

Still, there is growing pressure on both sides to reach an accord. As the December deadline for NATO's deployment looms, governments in Western Europe are bracing for a new wave of mass demonstrations and civil disturbances aimed at halting the NATO missile program. At the same time, the Soviets are concerned by the deployment's strategic threat and by the cost of replacing the old weapons, which will put tremendous stress on an economy beset by heavy military expenditures.

Still, Andropov concluded his latest offer by assuring that the next move is up to the Americans. "If the position of the United States continues to be uncompromising and intransigent," he said, "we shall be compelled to take appropriate countermeasures." For their part, the Americans seem prepared to stand firm. But for negotiators on both sides of the Geneva talks, it is clear that the time for reaching an agreement has become perilously short.

—JAMES MURPHY in Toronto, with  
correspondents' reports



# An emotional battle for a vintage firm

By Ralph Surette

**T**he conservative Maritime financial community had not witnessed such turbulence since Lord Beaverbrook, Isaac Walton Killam and other legendary tycoons dominated the region's business early in the century. In recent weeks, two powerful Atlantic business groups have engaged in an emotional battle for control of the Halifax-based Nova Scotia Savings & Loan Co. (NS&L). An 1850s vintage firm with assets of \$425 million. Already, the acrimonious affair has led to a series of lawsuits, and a number of people involved have been stunned by the bitterness that the dispute has generated.

The confrontation is personal as well as corporate. It pits H. Beaton Cohen, NS&L's managing director from Montreal, and Montreal financier Leonard Ellen against two of Nova Scotia's most prominent old-money families, the Sobehs and the Jordens. Cohen and the equally reclusive Ellen are the two challengers who launched the current bidding war. From modest beginnings they have rolled several old, independent Halifax trust companies into a conglomerate with \$12 billion in assets. But in their latest endeavor they have run up against an alarmed Halifax establishment which has vowed to keep Nova Scotia's funds.

The result: a tense standoff as the two sides trade barbs and lawsuits. Donald Roper, the vice-president of Montreal Young West Ltd., who is siding for Cohen and Ellen, charged this dispute is regional politics outside "emotional distortions." In reply, NS&L President James Redford accused Roper of being "intensely imperious" in his allegations.

The feud began with a 1988 takeover bid for NS&L by Toronto-based Royal Trust. That failed attempt by an outside old Halifax-based company, in a move to disavow a reputation, NS&L's board of directors wrote into the company charter a provision that no inter-

est or allied interest could vote more than 15 per cent of the shares.

But in 1981, NS&L moved to lift the restriction, which would have allowed Halifax Development Holdings Inc. to take control. NS&L is owned by the Jordens, a family whose holdings began in lumber, and the Sobehs, a clan whose holding company, Empire Co. Ltd., has interests in 30 companies with 4000 employees in assets. When Cohen and Ellen heard that the 15-per-cent rule was to be dropped, they made their own grab for control. Then the Toronto Stock Exchange scuttled the deal, and the

spending by issuing 420,000 new shares that reduced the Ellen holding to 35.1 per cent. Now after leaptforward to \$26 a share by late August, with three prior trading for as much as \$80 on the Toronto Stock Exchange as investors anticipated even higher offers.

At the same time, the affair has spawned about a dozen court actions so far. Speculation is rampant over the motives of the protagonists. For his part, NS&L President Redford claims that those motives have been based on business acumen. The company may not be worth \$30 a share in the short run, he



Empire: regional rivalry, emotional distortion and settling scores across with the establishment

15-per-cent rule remained in force. Still, Cohen and Ellen continued to accumulate company stock.

But the bitterness really began, insiders say, after a third party revealed his allegiance. In April the small Halifax-based Atlantic Trust Co. and the former president, Joseph Potter, detailed of gaining control of NS&L and signed an agreement to sell a 14.8-per-cent block of shares to an agent of NS&L. Then Potter changed his mind and instead sold his holding in May to Ellen and Cohen. Since then—the firm owned by Ellen and Cohen—fired the first shot in the latest round on July 12 with a \$2.50-a-share, \$12-million offer for all outstanding common shares. It already had 49.5 per cent (jumped to 55.5% 14.8 per cent) but wanted another 30 to have the 15-per-cent voting rule struck down. The NS&L directors re-

sponded. But the development of East Coast oil and gas promises fast returns, and in the long run the offer is realistic, he argued. But David Hemmery, who is a nephew of Jordens patriarch John Jordens and is representing the family interests as regional director of Burns Fry, declared that old money families are playing a role in the feud. "Nova Scotia is a small business community," he said. "It does not have a lot of head offices. Central Trust is here today but it took over Crown Trust and it will not be long before its head office is moved to Toronto." And as involved Halifax lawyer said that Cohen wants to settle scores with "an establishment that has rejected him."

There is no prospect that the battle will end soon. But even if it should, the wounds in the small community will take a long time to heal.



Volcker: barish signals and schizophrenic markets

## The nervous money markets

By Larry Glynn

**O**ne year into the headlong bull market over and more months into a U.S. economic recovery that continues to shatter records, the spectre of a new bout of high interest rates has returned to haunt Wall Street and financial circles around the world. Alternating waves of optimism and pessimism over the future course of U.S. interest rates have been assailing stock and bond markets for weeks. Analysts' forecasts and traders' moods have triggered with daily swings, and the weekly release of the U.S. Federal Reserve Board's money supply figures has become a cause for celebration or gloom—with billions of dollars in paper values riding on the outcome.

The markets' schizophrenic behavior is the result of the Federal Reserve Board's determination to keep the growth of the money supply in check in order to avoid a new round of inflation. That tightening position drives reserves from the banking system, reduces the supply of credit and drives interest rates upward. Since May, short- and long-term interest rates have risen by about two per cent on the money market, which deal in a range of securities from government treasury bills to short-term

corporate loans. At the same time, these barish signals on interest rates have eased nervousness on the stock and bond markets, where prices decline over fears of an upward movement in the cost of money. Now, there is a growing consensus among money market experts that interest rates will stay high in the short term at least. But there are also increasing worries that borrowing by the U.S. government to fund the record deficit will drive the cost of money higher.

So far, there are designs that recent

rate hikes have slowed the current U.S. recovery. Last month alone, the U.S. commerce department's inflation-adjusted estimates of GDP growth in the second three months of this year were revised upward to 0.2 per cent from an earlier estimate of 0.7 per cent. This year's third quarter looks equally bleak. Industrial production rose 1.8 per cent in July alone, and employment and retail sales have not been singing ahead of previous recoveries.

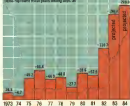
Still, it will take months before the full impact of higher rates filters into official statistics, and some emerging signs of weakness are already beginning to show. The U.S. economy's "interest-sensitive" sectors—housing, autos and business capital spending—warns Data Resources, a Massachusetts-based think tank, "will fall short of previous peaks" in the current recovery. One harbinger of that possibility was a recent report stating that new housing construction in the United States fell a fractional 0.6 per cent in July—the second monthly setback for an industry that has traditionally led post-rebooms.

More worrisome is the fact that there is little likelihood of any fall in interest rates soon—and a real risk that they may edge up over farther. The reason: U.S. economic growth has bud disproportionately little impact on the undersized government deficits projected through the mid-1980s. The federal Treasury will borrow as much as \$120 billion in new money in the second half of this year—in direct competition for credit with recovery and businesses. Even if the economy follows traditional patterns and slows down after a partial ban, the huge federal borrowing will still almost certainly keep rates high. That prospect also beds ill for Canada, where interest rates generally follow the U.S. line.

Lacked in disputes over whether to cut back on social spending or an military outlays, the U.S. administration and Congress are not expected to make any real progress on the deficits before next year's election. In effect, that forces Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul Volcker to perform a delicate balancing act: finding just enough money into the banking system to keep the current recovery alive, but not enough to open a fresh round of inflation. Whether or not Volcker can succeed is a predictable bet. But the entire world will watch his performance with ever-increasing anxiety.

## The Galloping U.S. Deficit

U.S. budget deficit in billions of dollars  
Three-year trend from 1973 to 1984







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## The doping of amateur sport

**T**he father of drug testing in international amateur sport is an unassuming 30-year-old biochemist from Cologne, Manfred Donike. But last week at the Pan-American Games in Caracas, Venezuela, there was nothing at all unexcited about the impact of the West German doctor's work after sophisticated tests for more than 30 banned substances—among them anabolic steroids—25 athletes were disqualified in the largest drug scandal ever to hit an international amateur competition.

Two Canadian weight lifters, Guy Grosvenor, 33, of New Westminster, B.C., and Michel Viau, 31, of St-Basile-le-Grand, Que., were among the competitors from several nations who were stripped of their medals and face a possible ban at the 1994 Olympic Games in Los Angeles. In addition, 12 U.S. track-and-field competitors, apparently anticipating the worst from Donike's tests, left Caracas before their races. The departures raised curiosity about all athletes, including the injured but healthy Canadian sprinter Dave Williams, claimed a spot in the final of the 100-m run. But when the starter fired the gun, Williams' lane was empty, and the Canadian pleaded a sick injury. "I can't do this," Williams told reporters. "Personally, I don't think they can really help a sprinter."

The dope scandal reinforced what insiders have known for years: despite injurious side effects, anabolic steroids and stimulants—the medications are known as "biggers"—are now as common as lard in the ancient stables of Greece. Said Jeka Hill, head of the International Amateur Athletic Federation: "There has been a scandalous disregard for efficient doping control in the Western Hemisphere."

Donike's findings—and the suspensions—raised unease among the leading nations that will compete for medals in Los Angeles. The Americans promptly ordered up mandatory rac-



Kratochvilova (above), Grosvenor with medals, an exonerate at fourth



dom tests of their Games competitors and threatened to bar anyone who failed. The Soviets made private soundings about the prospect of obtaining \$750,000 worth of testing equipment. That they would install it in a Wisconsin camper at Los Angeles next year, presumably to avoid having their athletes caught later in official Games tests.

The concern spread to East Germany, which is regarded as a leading proliferator. Sportler Berndt Neufeldt, who has never defected, said that in the weeks in training for the 1990 Olympics her coach gave her pills in a vitamins bottle that produced intermenstrual bleeding in her menstrual cycle, hiccups in her voice and hair on her upper lip. After Neufeldt's defection, Donike of Cologne's Federal Institute for Sport Research discovered that the pills were anabolic steroids.

In Canada official reaction last week focused on arguments that, because so many other international competitors use banned substances, Canadian participants are forced to use anabolic steroids literally to stay in the game.

The drug at the center of the storm is a synthetic derivative of the male hormone testosterone. The compound has been banned because as the muscles doses used by some women athletes it can deepen voices, cause facial hair to grow, increase the size of the clitoris and shrink breasts. Czechoslovakian runner Jarmila Kratochvilova, winner of two individual gold medals last month at the world track-and-field games in Helsinki, is usually regarded as one of the classic examples of the new breed. Yet the muscular runner has always passed her dope and chlamydia tests.

In males the most dramatic impacts include massive weight gain, shrunken testicles and a badly aggravated prostate that turns some athletes into tyrants away from the field of games.

Anabolic steroids have been in use, primarily by international weight-



Donike with doping machine, just to be able to stay in the game

lifters, since the 1950s. But their original purposes were to speed one's metabolism, increasing the intake of protein to build muscles of patients suffering chronic diseases and protecting blood cells against destruction in radiation or chemotherapy. Compared to the

medical doses of 10 mg per day, however, some athletes ingest—or inject—as much as 100 mg in the months leading up to major competitions. Medical studies also link the drug to a form of sclerosis in the liver and to the growth of liver tumors.

As they prepare for international competitions, growing numbers of athletes are also prepared to defy the medical odds. Male and female novices alike have discovered that anabolic steroids allow them to recover more quickly from workout sessions, which in turn makes more intense training possible. Some athletes have resorted to injecting the steroids in an old knee to inhibit medical checks and to avoid liver damage that occurs from swallowing pills. Other athletes have used diuretics and vitamins C to eliminate traces of the compound from their systems before urine tests.

Scholarships did not work in Caracas last week—but the special machines of Cologne's Manfred Donike did. Using computer-driven gas chromatographs and a mass spectrometer, Donike was able to detect traces of drugs used weeks before competition. Because the athletes were warned in advance about plans for dope testing, Donike denied them for being "stupid" in thinking they could escape detection in Caracas.

"They should have known what was waiting for them," he said.

The surprising accuracy of the testing rattled some athletes. U.S. weight lifter Jeffrey Mikeli, 32, of Chicago, who was—then last—three gold medals, returned shaken to his quarters after failing his test. He told his col-

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beginning. "They just nailed me to the wall. They said that on or about April 24 I took such and such a thing. They said if I waited a few minutes they would check and tell me how much I took." The next day the top 10 athletes went home without competing. The main fear of athletes who may have been using drugs was not of losing medals in Caracas but of being banned next year in Los Angeles, since the minimum penalty for failing a dope test is one year's suspension from international competition.

Donlie professed surprise at the controversy arising from the Caracas tests. "Claims by physicians here that we are using new technology are incorrect," he said. "This is the same technology that was used at the track-and-field world championships in Helsinki and at last year's football World Cup in Spain." He added, "The only difference is that our testing techniques are becoming more refined all the time and that, for the first time, we are testing for testosterone and caffeine here. Why did tests prove positive? Said Donlie: "The problem is that this is the first time in the Americas that they have had strict doping controls. They should have known about it because you can buy any of these machines from anywhere."

The irony of the controversy was that

the high-powered amateur athletic world has known about these drugs for years. Ottawa's Dr. Andrew Pipe, who spends several months a year at major international competitions, stated: "Sport has been looking for technological solutions to ethical problems. The attitude has always been, 'If you can't prove it, don't worry about it.' But the knowledge of abuses was widespread. People have been playing fast and loose with pharmaceuticals, and not just with steroids, for a long time."

Added Pipe: "It disturbs me greatly that coaches are already considering new ways to manipulate or transform the doping process." Winnipeg shot-putter Bruce Prime credits steroids for his performances at the Olympic Games in Munich and Montreal and at the 1975 Pan-Am Games, where he won the gold medal. "They have a positive effect on your stamina," he said. But Prime discovered that he could not increase his relatively modest dosage of 10 mg per day. "I became very aggressive and restless. I couldn't sleep well and I didn't like myself any more."

In Caracas last week there were some good feelings. At the weekend, as the Games approached their close, the Americans denounced the medal standings, with Cuba in second place and

Canada in third. Despite the loss of weight-lifting medals, the Canadian team took some relief from gold medals in women's and men's softball and in field hockey. The men's hockey team, in fact, toppled the reigning Argentinians, who were Pan-Am gold medalists for the past seven Games. The victory will give Canada an entrée at the Los Angeles Olympics. "Now," enthused goalie Julian Austin, "we can begin to look forward to playing Spain, Germany and Pakistan, and all these other great hockey nations." U.S. pole vaulter Mike Tully, one of the 12 Americans who left Caracas, returned later in the week and won the gold medal in his event. Tully had taken the antihypertensive Bichloral, one of the 31 banned drugs. Testing after Tully's victory revealed no traces.

At the end of the second week of the Games, the doping controversy continued unabated. It was confirmed that a group of U.S. athletes competed in Caracas even though secret tests before they left for the Games revealed traces of prohibited medications. William E. Simon, president of the U.S. Olympic Committee, defended the athletes' behavior. "That's their privilege," said Simon. "Where is the law here?" Doubt for the Pan-American Games of 1983, it seemed to loom somewhere close to the finish. □

## PEOPLE



Austin, Libesca and Dupuy worldwide accident and the impossible dream

Having charmed filmgoers with her portrayals of whimsical women in *Jeaneen* of the *Body Snatchers* and *Dogs of Heaven*, Franca Alesca recently had an event here. She took on the role of a real-life champion she described as a "rather busy, difficult person who doesn't spend a lot of time trying to charm people." Alesca, 34, will play feisty Hamilton-born popper Doree Dupuy, 56, in an upcoming independent movie called *Blacklight*. The film is about the Famous People Players, a Toronto-based puppet theatre group founded by Dupuy nine years ago. Alesca was obviously impressed with the tenacity of Dupuy and her 15-person troupe, which is largely composed of mentally handicapped adults. They have won worldwide acclaim for their

daring stage presentations and live-on-camera plays, including one of *Barney* and *Planet Libesca*. The real Libesca will play himself in the real film, which is due to be broadcast in January. Said Alesca: "The film is about superstitions, having a dream, going for it and not being stopped by what you have heard are your limitations."

At 16, Toni Maids already knows what it is like to be both a high school homecoming princess and quarterback of her school's junior football team. But for the five-foot, three-inch, 120-lb. athlete of Prince George, B.C., wearing a tux and a long gown was a much novel experience than sporting shoulder pads she has been playing tackle football for seven years, always as the only girl on the team. When her family moved to Phoenix, Ore., for a year in 1980, Maids went on for football as usual, made the junior high school team and attracted worldwide media attention. Last week she completed a movie that Maids says will be aired in November, in which she played the football season for the actress portraying her. "It was certainly a strange feeling to stand in for yourself," she said. Now she is back in Prince George, preparing for another season of quarterback of the Camslet Gladiators. Even though she has no chance of becoming the first woman to play professional foot-

ball, with Luck Maids might some day win a close one for The Upper.

Sketching the country like an Old Testament prophet at dawn, British cartoonist spokesman E.P. Thompson last week entertained audiences in Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa. Displaying his characteristic sharp tongue, Thompson said he had come to Canada to "look up a great racket about our pollution." He has promoted the disarmament theme ardently since the 1950s, when he joined philosopher Bertrand Russell in the annual mass marches to the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment in Aldermaston. For the past four years Thompson has focused his attack on British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's nuclear arms policies, calling her "the most hellfire of Western leaders." Of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's commitment to environmental testing in Canada, Thompson says delicately, "He must be misinformed."

Veteran actor Kirk Douglas loves peach pie on the prairie.



Bushell with Douglas: eating peach pie on the prairie

Maids, sides up the only girl on the team



Launa Kasso is famous for the dessert in the north Alberta community of Drumheller. As a result, the dimple-chinned, 65-year-old star received a pleasant surprise when he asked for his favorite dish after arriving in town last week to shoot some scenes for *Dreams*, a \$4.5-million western, which also features Saskatchewan-born Alexander Boudreau. Douglas sampled the renowned party, then rewarded Kasso with a hug and a kiss. "He is the most genuine man I have ever met," said the delighted Drumheller waitress, Douglas replied, "I'm having the most fun I ever had on a film."

—EDITED BY JAMES MINGAS



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# Fighting for victims of crime

By Gordon Legge

Kamal Pathialah, 46, a kindly Indian grocer, suffered a brutal beating when a robber took \$800 from his cracker store last April. In Calgary, Joyce Dickson, 44, a dedicated social worker, still has trouble sleeping because of robberies three years ago in her home. And in Bolton, Ont., the lives of Carole and Douglas Cameron tragically went very much as a robber murdered their 20-year-old son, Mark,



Toronto police at the scene of a crime: 'We tip over this battered victim'

they run get help and how their cases are progressing. They want to speak up in court, they want the prompt return of their property and they want reparation. "What's wrong is the victims' movement," he says. "The reactive feeling that justice should be done—that they should not just be pawns in the justice system." Federal Justice Minister Marc MacGillivray goes one step further. "I think [the movement] makes a humanization of the system," he told Macdon's.

"I think we are in the midst of a justice revolution, of which this is just a part." If it is a revolution, it is a wide-ranging one. The rights of victims are high on the agenda of a United Nations meeting on crime prevention to be held in 1993. The U.S. Congress passed an omnibus Victim Protection bill in 1992. As well, a report from the U.S. President's

Task Force on Victims of Crime will be among the topics of discussion at the sixth annual North American Victims Assistance Conference next week in Jacksonville, Fla.

The scope of the problem, though difficult to measure in financial, emotional or physical terms, is staggering. An extensive Canadian Urban Victimization Survey, cited in the federal-provincial task force report, revealed that in 1988 about 700,000 people were sexually as-

saulted, raped, robbed or had personal property stolen in seven major cities—Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal, Halifax, Dartmouth and St. John's. Another 900,000 households were targets of burglaries, theft and vandalism.

According to the survey, the costs in 1981 included \$21.5 million in uninsured property and cash, \$45.9 million in damaged property and \$7 million in medical expenses and lost wages. In addition, insurance companies paid victims \$3.30 million. In sum, the costs of crime in Canada during 1981 on just these cities surpassed \$450 million. And even though there was direct contact with the perpe-

trators in only 28 per cent of the crimes, victims spent 58,000 nights in hospital and were out of work 465,780 days.

The survey did not even attempt to measure the victims' moral and civil pain. But, the task force reported, "we do know that the fear produced by some forms of victimization can become crippling and can turn victims inward, closing them off from social support when they need it most." Furthermore, the victims may suffer from "secondary victimization" because, as the report indicates, "the victims' emotional suffering may be made more acute by their experiences with the criminal justice system." They may be ignored or even abused by the police, lawyers, courts and social agencies.

Belligerence. Pathialah is painfully aware of the cuts he may be years

before the grocer receives from the pituitary-whipping administered by an unknown assailant last spring that left him unconscious and bleeding on the floor of his Brampton, Ontario, store. Five months later his jaw is still tender, and the bruise of his nose is scarred from the push that left his face stained with blood. Said Pathialah: "I am still afraid of what happened. Any small noise, I jump up. It was very hard. For four months my mouth and face were wired together, and I could not so hard foods—soups and liquids only. It broke everything."

Fortunately, Pathialah's neighbors brought him food and flowers while he

lived and down a side street. Finally, alarmed by her cry, the landlord punched her in the face before he fled. Collage spent five days in hospital with cuts and pulled muscles. The landlord, now 60, was never caught. Collage has since received a \$10,000 award, although the police did not mention that British Columbia had a Criminal Injury Compensation program: her daughter

hoped to find out about the program from a family friend.

Although Joyce Dickson never saw the criminal, she still bears the scars from a series of six robberies which started three years ago. In the first, she and her husband, Richard, ar-

rested and friends were surprised when the strong, independent outdoor woman insisted on leaving the house lights on overnight. Those now she has trouble sleeping when her husband, a U.S. Army veteran, is away. Richard taught her how to use a gun (they keep a rifle and a shotgun in the house). And she admits, with a hollow laugh, that she still feels like putting up a sign reading "There is no money or jewelry on the premises."

Dickson was also uneasy about one experience with the police. Although the investigating officers were considerate the first time, she says, they humiliated her after the second robbery.

Carole and Douglas Cameron were surprised when the strong, independent outdoor woman insisted on leaving the house lights on overnight. Those now she has trouble sleeping when her husband, a U.S. Army veteran, is away. Richard taught her how to use a gun (they keep a rifle and a shotgun in the house). And she admits, with a hollow laugh, that she still feels like putting up a sign reading "There is no money or jewelry on the premises."

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Beating victims Collage and (right) Pathialah: an indelible feeling that they should not just be pawns in the system

recuperated. He has applied to Nova Scotia's Criminal Injury Compensation Board and, if he is lucky, he will receive the maximum award of \$15,000. Even so, his lawyer, Peter Carbone, says that Pathialah is not as open or as jovial with people as he once was. "He still gets nervous when people he doesn't know come into the store," says Carbone.

In Vancouver, Emily Collage, a bright, active 30-year-old, is afraid to leave her one-room senior citizens' apartment alone. She is still haunted by a brutal mugging three years ago at a bus stop less than a block from home. A man grabbed a strong bag looped over her left wrist and, when she would not let go, dragged her half a block across

road at their northwest Calgary home and discovered a injured back door and \$15,000 worth of her jewelry stolen. Then a thief stole her car out in a later break-in. Since then, burglars have broken into the couple's car and trunk, and twice into the office where she works. But it was the first incident that hurt her most. Said Dickson: "It felt incredibly violated that anyone could come in and take my possessions and do what they wanted with them. I felt far from a while that my past had disappeared."

Dickson's anxiety lasted for months. Whenever she arrived home at night by car, she would knock the car horn defensively. Sometimes she would ring the doorbell, then sit on the steps crying, too frightened to enter. Her husband

JOYCE DICKSON

# A new respect for the victim's rights

The Calgary police department, like most forces throughout the country, was accustomed to calls from frustrated victims of crime seeking help in their encounters with an often confusing judicial system. But unlike other forces, the Calgary police supported two secretaries and a available five years ago to do nothing but answer questions from victims of crime. Since the innovation, the effort has grown into one of the most responsive victim assistance units in the country. With 10 staff members, two dozen volunteers and an annual budget of about \$250,000, it now handles an average of 250 calls a day. Trained crisis workers are available in constant touch with police and can move in quickly to provide on-the-spot counselling, referrals or other assistance to crime victims.

Modelled after successful services in the United States, the Calgary unit, along with a similar program in Edmonton started in 1982, has set the standard for police assistance to victims across the land. Said Calgary Police Chief Brian Sawyer: "We are not geared in this country to really doing something about the trauma some victims suffer, partly because we do not understand it and partly because we assume it happens to the other guy." Now, he says, the Victim Crisis Unit is helping to attack the Canadian penchant for "looking our heads in the sand."

The unit's service begins the moment someone reports a crime and ends only when the courts have dealt with an accused person. In such cases as domestic disputes, child abuse, sexual offences, motor vehicle accidents, a police officer calls one of the unit's crisis workers to the scene. The counsellor's presence helps the victim and also reduces the amount of time an investigating officer must spend on a call, thereby freeing him or her for other work. Sitting in the unit's Mayfield Heights office in northeast Calgary, a radio monitor crackling at his elbow, Thomas McKay, 30, a 19-month veteran, says, "I feel we make a difference in every case of these situations."

When on-the-scene assistance is over, the caseworker turns the file over to the volunteer unit. Their duties can include

hospital visits and inviting a victim to the station of an investigation or court proceedings. In addition, volunteers scan the daily police reports for cases that involve the elderly or the very young, or burglars and physical assaults. Then they telephone the victims and offer assistance, sometimes referring them to one of the city's 150 social service agencies. Some aid is much more direct: volunteers have helped to clean up a home

piercing his chest when he breathes, and he has trouble sleeping. But the courts freed the accused on \$1,000 bail when he appeared on a charge of attempted murder. Complaints Lantz bitterly: "It seems like here the victim and I'm the guy who has done something wrong. He is free right now and getting paid while I had to quit my job as a shipper at a dairy company."

Despite the service's efforts, Lantz remains resentful. A volunteer visited him in hospital the day after the shooting and provided him with information about compensation and assistance. But he says that his subsequent telephone calls to investigating detectives were not returned, and no one notified him when court hearing times were changed. "With something happen to you, you really don't know how bad the system is," says Lantz, who, unusually, is studying police science at Calgary's Mount Royal College.

For his part, Chief Sawyer says that he understands Lantz's frustration. "We have to sensitize the police more to the significance of dealing with the victim as a victim," he said, "not just a reporter of a case." The service continues to grow despite setbacks, including the radical elimination of some officers. ("You would be surprised at the ingenuity," Sawyer confided last week at the Canadian police chiefs' conference, attended last September by 100 police chiefs, a suggestion from University of Ottawa criminologist Levis Walker that victims be provided with a card detailing the investigating officer's identification number, rank, phone number and the officer's phone number.

The Calgary force also has completed a 16-month training file which aims to encourage officers to be more concerned about victims. As Sawyer says in the file, "There is a strong link between the attitudes of police officers toward victims and the attitudes of victims toward the police." Detailing how to cope with such offences as sexual assault and child abuse, the narrative also states serious statistics: "Of these resources," he urges, "the victim will remember you as the one who cared." —GORDON LINDEN in Calgary



Lantz: It seems like I'm the guy who did something wrong.

after it has been vandalized. But usually the victim needs only information. Says volunteer Barry Shaker, 30, a social worker: "People do not seem to know their rights. People do not know enough about the system."

Sometimes the unit's best efforts are inadequate. One recent victim it tried to help was Patrick Lantz, a 19-year-old student who was shot on July 31 at a party at the home of a friend in northwest Calgary. A neighbor had given a message with a 22-calibre rifle, and Lantz suffered a punctured lung. He says he feels a guilt "The hot pit"

## SPECIAL REPORT

Maria, an employee at Toronto's Woodbine racetrack, was her only one by a person's marriage and one of five children in the Cameron family. He had accepted a welcome offer of work at the Florida-based winter facilities of Winnipeg's Knightbridge Stable. On the evening of Jan. 23, 1982, Maria left her room at the Hialeah Racetrack in a steady Miami suburb to search for a restaurant. Half an hour later doctors pronounced him dead at the Hialeah General Hospital. He had been shot once in the head with a .357 magnum revolver and his pockets had been emptied of \$300. His mother's voice still breaks and her hands shake when she describes the mass of bureaucracy and official indifference which she encountered both in Canada and in United States while trying to follow her son's case.

The final blow came last October when the accused killer, recently released from a New Jersey prison after a one-year sentence for armed robbery, was freed on a technicality. "Suddenly I realized that all rights and attention go to the bloody prisoner," Cameron said bitterly. "The victim is treated as a statistic." Subsequently, Cameron joined Victims of Violence, a two-year-old, 5,000-member Canadian self-help group for families of murder victims. Cameron said, "God, I hope people don't have to have this happen to them before they do something about it."

If the suggestions in the federal-provincial task force report are followed, something will be done. The document's 79 recommendations provide the foundation for sweeping changes in such areas as restitution, trial procedures and victim services. If the report leads to reform, the result will be a new balance between the rights of the offender and the rights of the victim. Said task force Chairman Donald Sinclair, a Toronto political scientist: "We have attempted to indicate ways in which victims of crime can be treated fairly and humanely, while at the same time protecting the rights of the offender and the needs of the state."

The task force's 18 pilot projects examined the needs of victims and looked at existing programs throughout Canada and in the United States, France, Australia and New Zealand. They found an army of unco-ordinated and isolated services across Canada. People complained about waiting months or years before police or court officials returned their property, about frustrating delays during trials in which they appeared as witnesses, about increased suffering and intimidation from sitting in a courtroom with the family of the accused, and, most important, about as appalling absence of information



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Photo by Bill O'Connell about Jack Daniel's Whiskey, written by Bill O'Connell in Lynchburg, Tennessee, 1982. © 1982





Sinclair (left) and Sawyer: mandatory restitution and a surtax on criminals' fines

about either their cases or how the system operates.

As a result, the task force members found that widespread dissatisfaction has fostered a network of unofficial assistance groups, some verging on vigilantism. To counter the trend, the study recommended several changes to the Criminal Code, including mandatory consideration of restitution, with the victim providing the court with an estimate of damages, photographing stolen property to be used as evidence so that property can be recovered promptly, permitting "victim-impact statements" to be taken for use by a judge during sentencing, and reducing the time within which a trial or preliminary hearing must begin. The study urged police, social agencies and courts to establish a comprehensive network of services to provide victims with information, counselling, emotional support and advice about preventive measures. Finally, it recommended that the provinces consider a "fine surtax" to raise money to pay for victim services and increased crime compensation awards. In concluding, the task force observed that for the most part the recommendations did not require expensive bureaucratic modifications but changes in people's attitudes, customs and habits. It noted that where similar changes have been implemented elsewhere the victim was not the only beneficiary: criminal justice agencies found increased efficiency, cost savings and improved trust and co-operation from the victim and the public.

The recommendations are partly a response to the postwar disappearance of the old support network once based on

family, friends and the community. The plague of victims of crime became particularly glaring in recent years with the dramatic rise in sexual assaults and wife beatings. The victims' movement began to take hold in the United States in the mid-1970s; its founders joined forces in 1978 with the formation of the National Organization for Victim Assistance. The powerful NOW lobby forced changes on federal and state ob-

ministrations and helped bring about the creation of the presidential task force. Reported its chairman, Leo Harrington, in February, 1982: "Something terrible has happened in America; crime has made victims of us all. Awareness of its danger affects the way we think, where we live, where we go, what we buy, how we raise our children and the quality of our lives as we age. The spectre of violent crimes and the knowledge that, without warning, any person can be attacked or crippled, robbed or killed lurks at the fringes of consciousness."

In Canada, the movement was longer in getting established. People across the country formed such self-help groups as Neighborhood Watch, Block Parents and Range Patrol. The more north by the vigilante-style Guardian Angels, the young crime fighters in baretta, has been more controversial. Chapters of the New York-based organization are operating in Windsor, Ont., Toronto and Montreal, where their downtown street patrols have met a generally cool reception. The Angels are now recruiting in Vancouver, and Pelee Island. Neil Larkin doubts they will be useful. "They make a lot of claims about crimes they can prevent, the rape, that is fact they cannot do anything about," said Larkin. "Most rapes are committed in apartments, in homes and out in the streets." In British Columbia, another organization, Mothers Against Drunk Drivers, has stirred up the courts by monitoring impaired-driving trials. Says Dennis

Windsor's Guardian Angels: 'a lot of claims about crimes they can prevent'



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### SPECIAL REPORT

Bullman, founder of an Ontario lobbying organization called Victims of Violence: "We are not a lynch mob. We are not trying to take rights away from criminals. We are just trying to help victims."

Now, governments are getting into the act. Says Ontario's secretary for justice, Gordon Walker: "Victim justice is a theology, a philosophy that should permeate the justice system. In my world, victims are more important than the people who perpetrate the crimes."

In tandem with the federal-provincial task force, federal Solicitor General Robert Kaplan received cabinet approval in 1988 to undertake several victim assistance projects and programs across the country. Between 1981 and 1986, the department will have spent almost \$2.5 million on research, education and victim services, ranging from victim/witness assistance courses in St. John's and Campbellton, N.B., to police volunteer programs in Ottawa, Vancouver and Edmonton.

At the same time, there are many new programs aimed at crime prevention. In Montreal last week a 20-year-old unemployed loser, Michel Dery, led Montreal police to the place where the body of a murdered six-year-old, Melanie Desjardis, was found to be buried.

The next day citizens inundated the city's \$1.5-billion crime-prevention program, Operation Tension, with more than 200 requests for information on dealing with suspicious characters. Said Tension Director Sidney Stevens: "It is unfortunate that it took a tragedy to wake people up, but at least we were ready with the information. We are teaching people to be the eyes and ears of the police department."

Still, although there is general recognition of the needs of victims, there remains some resistance to reform, particularly if it reduces an offender's rights. Toronto lawyer Ian Scott, director of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, believes that victims' rights should not be part of the justice system at all. Said Scott: "I do not see it as a criminal justice problem so much as a substantial social problem, similar to

the sick, disabled or needy in our society."

Generally, however, there is more concern about the costs of changing the system to aid victims of crime than there is about the basic philosophy. Notes task force member Donald Irwin, a member of the Alberta justice minister's department: "The cost in a re-sentient economy is something we have to consider." But many of the recommendations require very little money, and MacGillivray plans to press ahead with proposed changes to the Criminal Code.

In the crucial area of costs, MacGillivray is receptive to the idea of adding a surtax to the fines of convicted criminals to defray the cost of revised compensation programs, areas in which there is a need for more funds. As a department of justice working paper concluded last March, "Victim compensation is an idea that possesses more than it has so far been able to deliver." Critics argue that a surtax would penalize offenders as victims' crimes and possibly violate the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. But proponents point to a surtax system in California, which is expected to produce more than \$22 million during the 1987-1988 fiscal year, almost \$1 million more than the total cost of the state's Office of Criminal Justice Planning and the victim compensation program.

Still, as task force Chairman Steele stressed in a speech to the police chiefs in Calgary, much of the work can be done by volunteers working with existing agencies. Above all, Steele told the law enforcers, a fundamental change in attitude would go a long way toward alleviating the suffering and trauma experienced by victims of crime. "Victims have concerns, they are entitled to consideration, and the fact that they are being considered and not neglected must be communicated to them," he said. And with a determination that victims of crime will be heard, Steele concluded, "If it will exist to do these things, they will be done."

With Malcolm Gray in Vancouver, David Ripstein in Ottawa, Anne Durkin in Montreal and Michael Chapiro in Halifax.



Common victim as statistic

Photo by [unreadable]

## Too many freshmen, too few desks

In a country whose citizens have always assumed that any qualified student could get a university education close to home, last week's announcement came as an unpleasant surprise. Toronto's 35,000-student York University had frozen first-year enrolment at last year's levels and, as a result, had rejected 1,690 otherwise acceptable applicants. The move was the most dramatic response to a development that is afflicting most major Canadian urban universities: the fall in an unexpected surge in applications. Experts believe that university demand will begin to fall by 1985. But for the time being, students across the country are flocking to colleges and universities to increase their chances of finding a job or simply to wait out the recessionary employment drought.

Although Ontario Education Minister Betty Stephenson charged that the York administration was merely playing politics to drag more money out of the province's education budget, York's vice-president of academic affairs, William Foran, said that the freeze was a direct result of provincial government funding cutbacks. In addition to York's freeze on frozen enrolment, Canada's 70 universities to the enrolment demand range from tough admission criteria in popular programs, such as computer science, to increased high school grade admission standards. Purchased Bachelor, director of admissions for L'Université de Montréal, reports a 15-per-cent increase in applications compared to 1982-1983. Said Bachelor: "This year we had an increase between the labor market in work. Last year there was an increase in university college enrolment, this year we [universities] get the backbone."

At the University of Regina, dean of graduate studies and research Cameron Blackford expects a similar 20-per-cent increase in the labor market in work. Last year there was an increase in university college enrolment, this year we [universities] get the backbone."

The trend is mirrored in the Maritime Acadia University, a small college in Wolfville, N.S., for example, reports a 27-per-cent increase in applications over a year ago, says admissions director Robert Strand.

Some of the fiercest enrolment competition is taking place at the University of British Columbia, where 1,690



Registration at Montreal's Concordia University. It's not "open-door" anymore.

applicants belonged the business program for only 275 freshmen openings—and 500 of them were fully qualified. In the face of similar demand, 193 is for the first time considering enrolment limits similar to existing quotas in medicine and dentistry departments for facilities such as area and science which traditionally have had no restrictions. Many of Canada's 200 community colleges are also raising entrance standards in anticipation of a repeat of the 15-per-cent increase last year.

Many educators applied the new higher admission standards to universities and colleges. But in a development that worries William Foran, president of the Association of Canadian Community Colleges and president of Red Deer College in Alberta. With last year's increases continuing for a second year, he says that chronic underfunding continues as well. "This is leading to a creeping elitism in the college system," Foran declared. "It's not open door anymore; it's half-closed."

University of Alberta's Leslie Leitch, vice-president of finance and administration, shares the concern. The university's 40-per-cent enrolment standard will rise to 62 in September, 1984. Says

Leitch, "Students who perform marginally in Grade 12 often blossom in university. It would be a shame for them not to be allowed to go."

Ironically, education officials may be the authors of their own problems: university recruiting drives and unprecedented advertising campaigns in recent years are clearly bearing fruit. In the short term, the student pool will wear down as students settle for less desirable institutions farther from home, larger class sizes and increased competition as standards rise. But in the long term, what will likely change Universities outside major centers, such as Lakehead University in Thunder Bay, Ont., have room for as many as 800 additional students. As well, the impact of lower birthrates, which have struck the ranks of elementary schools, will work their way through the education system. Better equipped, chief of research in the education, culture and tourism division of Statistics Canada, predicts a decade-long enrolment drop beginning in 1985 that will, by 1996, lower demand to the levels of 1970. By then, the new reality of Canadian higher education will be a shortage of students. —DAVE SILBERT in Toronto

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IT'S A GOOD LIFE  
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Trumpeter Doc Cheatham had a long journeyman's career with Cab Calloway, Benny Carter, Teddy Wilson, Billie Holiday and others before taking refuge in Latin show bands in New York during the 1960s. Now an emerging leader of his own quartet at Sweet Basil's, a Manhattan club, Cheatham is enjoying a twilight renaissance abetted by Parkwood Records of Windsor, Ont. On *It's a Good Life*—a charming album that collects standards like *St. Louis Blues*, *Swathi* ("With Some Barbecue and Knap Dem Shells"—the 72-year-old trumpeter given slightly dazed but still solid classic performances), Cheatham provides a few friendly vocals and some tasty trumpet work, while pianist Chuck Folds supplies some solid solos. *Good Life* comes from a jazzman who has grown ancient without becoming tired.

TRAVELS  
Pat Metheny  
(GEM/WEA)

Recently, Pat Metheny has become so popular with young audiences that many critics refuse to take him seriously as a jazz musician. Clearly, the dismissal of Metheny as a mere pop guitarist is wrong. *Travels*, a double album recorded in concert, displays his musical strengths and offers a handy summary of the early, jazzy Metheny who still plays strongly on *Plane, Driver and Forward's* *Trust*. As well, the newer pieces on *Travels* reveal just how much he has opened up to folk, rock and ethnic influences.

Surprisingly, *Travels* also emphasizes how concert Metheny's style has been. Even when he is in full flight and uses the thickened sound of a synthesized guitar, his tone remains (pleasant) and his solos precise. If his partner and keyboard player, Lyle Mays, is sometimes dull, Metheny always manages to lift the proceedings higher. *Travels* is to be a sampler or perhaps even a "greatest hits" package, *Travels* also serves as a firm reminder that Metheny has been expanding with a consistent seriousness that marks the best of the new mainstream jazz. For that reason alone, *Travels* is a good place for listeners to catch up with him. —BART TESTA



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9:30 11:00 AM  
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6:00 6:30 AM AND  
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## LSD's peril and popularity

When Toronto undercover policemen found that two 15-year-old boys when they were questioning last month were carrying 5,900 doses of the powerful hallucinogenic drug LSD (lysergic acid diethylamide) it was one more shifting indication of a problem spreading through cities across the country. The 1980s common-place drug, known on the street as "acid," is back in fashion, and its users are younger than ever. What is more,

is frighteningly appropriate. In many cities LSD is now as readily available to young people as marijuana. It is regarded into the mystery with relative ease—and at great profit—and although dosages are not as strong as they once were, they still pose a danger.

After its heyday in the 1960s and early 1970s, LSD fell out of favor with most drug users, at least partly because of serious psychological aftereffects

paper, or "blotter," can contain as many as 1,000 hits, and the potential for profit is staggering. Beale says it costs about 50 cents to produce a hit that may sell for five dollars on the street. Other forms of the drug include tiny pills called "microdots" and drops of LSD on plastic, called "windowpegs."

One of the more frightening aspects of LSD is that it can have different effects on different people depending on several factors, including their environment, state of mind, and emotional stability. Other risks include convulsions and continued insomnia. Although it is not physically addicting, one of the more fearful long-term effects of LSD is the possibility of experiencing a "flash-back" or spontaneous recurrence of the LSD experience several days, weeks or even months after the drug is taken.

SU's, corrections and law enforcement officers derive some satisfaction from the fact that the use of the street so far has not been nearly as strong as it was in the 1960s. For that reason, police are not as concerned about LSD now as they are about the potentially more harmful cocaine and heroin. "The dosage has dropped drastically, and the effects now are more pleasant," said McKean. As a result, said Vancouver's McDonald, "We don't have people jumping off bridges or thinking they can walk on air like they used to."

In fact, says Robert Miller, a psychiatrist with the department of psychiatry at St. Michael's General Hospital, although usage is rising, people rarely need to be treated for adverse effects from LSD. "We don't see any of the really major cases anymore," says Miller. "In the early 1970s people had to be

brought into the hospital, but these I have seen recently seem to be able to deal with it themselves."

Frequent LSD users call up a tolerance that makes stronger doses necessary, and there are indications that some potent varieties of the drug are creeping onto the streets to meet that need. Halifax police Sgt. John Pusch, for one, believes that LSD doses are becoming stronger. "It is in the same range and is slowly reaching the levels of the early 1960s," warned Pusch. He says his information comes from the street, and the RCMP is planning to conduct tests to measure the current doses. If Pusch's claims are correct, the risk of psychosis (impairing one's ability to think) may even appear to be more than they bargained for.

—PAUL BENTON in Toronto



Beale and "acid blotter" samples. In the past few years LSD has come back with a vengeance

their ranks seem to be multiplying. Staff Sgt. Glenn McDonald, head of the Vancouver Police Narcotics Department, "LSD is as popular with the kids down on Granville Street as back as grass." In Calgary, Staff Sgt. Raymond Wopple says the figures speak for themselves. Calgary police last year seized 1,365 doses of LSD, generally known as "hits," but there is the first six months of this year alone they collected 19,000.

The situation is similar in other cities. In Toronto, particularly, the problem is becoming severe. "In the past few years LSD has come back with a vengeance," says Sgt. Ernest Beale, head of Toronto's drug squad. "A couple of years ago we thought we had won the war, but now even it has all gone to pot, if you will pardon the pun." But the pun

suffered by some users. But police LSD experts estimate that there are as many users now as there ever were. Last year the RCMP seized 2,200 separate seizures of LSD across Canada, with each confiscation containing anywhere from one to 100,000 hits. Even that, said Staff Sgt. Norman McKean, an RCMP narcotics officer in Toronto, "is only the tip of the iceberg, perhaps 30 per cent of what is brought into the country."

As far as the police can tell, all the LSD consumed in Canada comes from illicit laboratories in California. Smuggling it across the border is a relatively simple and low-risk business, police say. The liquid is clear and odorless, and the resulting "hits," or "blots," made by placing a small drop of LSD on a sheet of absorbent paper, can easily be concealed. One eight-by-10-inch sheet of

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## PUBLISHING

### Growing by bits and bytes

As the number of personal computers in the workplace has expanded, the need for more information about the quickly developing technology has grown as well. As a result, North American publishers, eager to take part in the microprocessing revolution, have launched a large number of magazines aimed at keeping computer lovers aware of the latest advice on what new gadgets are available for their desk-top units. So lucrative has the market become that there are now more than 15 computer-related magazines available in Canada, compared to just two only four years ago. And while the competition is stiff, none of the new magazines appears to be short of readers or advertisers.

With such names as *Byte* (computer jargon for a grouping of characters in a computer memory), *InfoAge* and *Dialogue* and newsstand prices for monthly magazines ranging from \$2.50 to \$10.95, most of the publications contain general interest articles, including product surveys and interviews with experts in the field. Written in technical prose, the articles are geared toward relatively sophisticated audiences in such fields as law, medicine, accounting and business management who rely on computers as personal tools in their work. But many of the magazines are much more targeted, designed to appeal only to owners of specific models. Apple computer users, for example, can read *MacUser*, *ProUser* and *Nibble*.

The magazines range in size and scope from *Byte*, a seven-year-old monthly produced by McGraw-Hill Publishing Co. which has 375 pages in its current issue and a circulation of 364,474, to *afm*, new periodicals lighting is just a foothold in the growing market. Fewer than a dozen of them are published in Canada, among them *Computing Now!*, which a 25-year-old former guitarist, Steve Remner, launched in Toronto last April. With a circulation of 22,800, the magazine is already making money, said Remner, and "the only real problem is finding writers who know what they are talking about."

For now, at least, office managers, searching for ways to program their units to do everything from analyzing financial data to sending electronic mail, cannot seem to get enough of the computer magazines.

—CAROL HELMAN in Toronto

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BOOKS

## A miraculous mystery

COLD HEAVEN

By Brian Moore  
(McClendland and Stewart,  
262 pages, \$19.95)

In *Cold Heaven*, Irish-Canadian writer Brian Moore's 14th and most recent novel, the author quickly has his readers on the edge of their seats. A young doctor, Alex Dwyerport, and his wife, Marie, spend a brief holiday in Nice, France. While he is swimming in the Bay of Angels, a powerboat runs

over him as his wife watches in horror from a paddle boat. She had intended to announce to Alex that day that she was going to leave him for another man, instead, the day ends with the announcement that a skull fracture and a severe concussion have killed the brilliant but selfish pathologist. The next day, however, the straggleward tragedy takes a bizarre turn that will keep readers' lights shining until dawn. Marie, writing at the hospital to make the necessary arrangements, is informed that her husband's body has disappeared from the morgue. The bewildered doctors have no explanation. Returning to her hotel room, she discovers that her husband's wallet, his passport, his traveler's cheque and airline ticket have also disappeared. Her belongings have not been touched.

Once the initial mystery has been established, everything that follows becomes a source of suspicion and fear. There are hints that Alex's research has something to do with his unlikely disappearance. Marie suspects that she is being punished by a vengeful God for her infidelity, and—predictably enough for those familiar with Moore's obsession with Catholicism—it is around that suspicion that the mystery of *Cold Heaven* is constructed. The guilt and outrage of adultery are blown into nightmarish proportions. No event remains innocent. Even a seemingly innocuous visit to a covert gift shop becomes part of Marie's struggle against her fate. When she encounters a "large Virgin doll [that] seemed halued in a strange omnipresent light," the reader

becomes as jumpy and uncertain as Marie and wonders whether the experience is meant as a pure nevelistic flourish, an indication of madness or a statement of fact.

In *Cold Heaven* Moore's taut and understated style harbors within it a sense of imminent danger that is almost cinematic in its effect. Indeed, his detailed, steady pacing is frequently reminiscent of Alfred Hitchcock. When Marie—following either an impersonator or her miraculously living husband back to the

United States—enters her New York apartment, the mere act of opening the door is fraught with tension. "She bent down and put the second key in the lower lock, which at once gave off the quiet beep of the alarm's alert signal. She turned the key. The door opened, and she hurried to the alarm box, opened it, put in the third key and turned it, shutting off the alarm. Then thought. But I didn't set the alarm when I went out, did I?"

When the action returns to California and to the Carmel hotel where Marie first slept with her lover, Moore's characters are caught in a web of coincidence, which might be, as Marie suspects, much more than that. "I don't think

you're going to believe me," she tells a priest. "I don't blame you. It's something I wouldn't believe if it were told to me. Yet it's the truth." Carmel has never been very far from her guilty conscience, but it now becomes apparent that the seaside motel, its nearby cliffs and pounding surf are more than just reminders of her unfaithfulness. Something else happened at Carmel, and Marie is forced to relive it.

Brian Moore's strength is his ability to make tangible the unbelievable and the miraculous. His consistently fine prose and the precision of his narrative create a reality in which characters and readers alike are forced to believe the improbable. Moore inhabits a world which is partly that of a religious visionary and partly that of a thriller writer. *Cold Heaven* is a remarkable success because the word "mystery" applies to both.

—DAVID MACFARLANE



Moore: uncluttered style

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## An appetite for history over-easy

POLAND

By James A. Michener  
(Random House, \$22 pages, \$19.95)

By now, James A. Michener, 78 years old and with 50 books to his credit, should have invented a new name for what he does: Poland, his latest and likely heavyweight effort, still labels itself "A Novel" on the dust cover, but a novel it certainly is not. And none of the current terms for fast food cooked with fiction suits it either: "historical fiction" or "fiction" or "nonfiction" all exhibit a far greater fascination with the workings of human character than Michener's books. He is more of a historian-journalist than a novelist; his characters are mere personifications of themes, ideas and events.

But Michener's novelistic lapses have never mattered to his readers. They know that he serves their appetite for history over-easy, searching for the constant and the historical pattern that makes a country suddenly "make sense." In *The Covenant*, his best seller about South Africa, everything neatly dovetailed into the Afrikaners' historical idea of themselves as God's chosen people. In Poland, Michener provides an epitaph that applies equally to historic Poland under constant threat of invasion and to the 20th-century country, which until recently was under martial law "to be both weak and daring is... an impossibility."

Poland's historical strength and weakness, according to Michener, are wrapped up in the concept of "golden freedom." He invents three families to embody all the important phases of Polish history, and each one has its own notion of what the country's mandated form of freedom means. The peasants—Janko Buk and his descendants—have no illusions at all, and the Bukowinis, of the relatively poor but noble gentry class, use them as cannon fodder and as slaves. Many Bukowinis die for freedom in battles with invading Poles, Germans, Swedes and Turks. But only the Bukowinis' lands, the Lubomski family—members of Poland's magnate class—reap the true and material benefits of golden freedom. By constantly undermining attempts at strong leadership and central government, 50 to 80 powerful families ruled Poland as a series of personal fiefdoms until 1791.

But in that year the infatuated Polish mythology of freedom took different form: In a unique four-year session the Polish Sejm—until then only a token parliament—drafted a constitution to

revive even the fledgling democracy of the United States. It abolished the magnates' parliamentary veto and attempted to share the wealth, which turned out to be the ultimate privation of a country both weak and daring. The three farsighted ancestors on Poland's borders had no use for freedom. Prussia, Austria and Russia did not even bother to invade when democracy threatened. In 1796, with the greedy magnates' full collaboration, they simply divided the country in three. For the next 123 years Poland did not exist other than in Chopin's music and in the memories of his fellow exiles.

Michener does not hesitate to chronicle the historic magnates and immorals and the atrocities of the Nazis and the Soviets. Many of his Buk, Bukowinis and Lubomiskis are killed on the battlefield, hanged, tortured or imprisoned.



Michener encyclopedic length

to reconstruction camps. But Michener's pattern-seeking makes it almost comfortable to think about Poland and its curved approach like sophisticated history between thin slices of the contemporary situation: the uprising and closing chapters explore the present-day Janko Buk's attempt to start a farmers' union.

By the time the reader has passed from 1346 to 1981, Janko Buk's plight seems only a reflection of history. He is still the peasant who owes to the overlord the food he produces, still the quisling Pole who pursues his freedom regardless of the political realities. The long view focuses the pain of the present situation but also somehow underlines the quest for solutions. History is depicted as a case of "the more things change, the more they remain the same." Michener, despite the encyclopedic length, always writes an introductory course to understanding—over the final word. —JANIS COLLIER

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Moritz (left), Thomas shifts, overkill and a plot that runs out as fast as a rocket

## FILMS

# A frothy dose of idiocy

STRANGE BEER

Directed by Dave Thomas  
and Rick Moritz

At the beginning of *Strange Beer*, Bob and Doug McKenzie's first foray into feature film, the film appears on the screen and promptly burps. There are more beer jokes in this wily, amusing movie than most viewers will want to imbib. Unless, that is, they are fans and followers of the two "hansers" on CTV who sell Molson's Canadian ale by discussing a variety of topics (beers and, seriously, of the realty, with an "ah!" available for nearly every occasion). Bob (Rick Moritz) and Doug (Dave Thomas) celebrate the state of idiocy. With that sensibility in mind, they have fashioned *Strange Beer* from one of the most blather plots imaginable: a madman (Maxwell Snow), based up in the Shesler brewery, is planning to take over the world by spiking beer with a mind-controlling drug. Of course, the perfect match for such a villain is the McKenzies' brothers, who have no minds.

The Hamlet-based plot in *Strange Beer* is merely an excuse for a series of shots. The uncle (Paul Dooley) of the brewery heiress (Cyndi Griffin) has killed her father and married her mother, and Bob and Doug arrive to save the day. They get into the brewery on the pretext of finding a mouse in a bottle of beer and demand restrictions. Beer in *Strange Beer* is the equivalent of the Holy Grail—forever elusive. Even the

McKenzies' well-tempered dog, Howiehead, bares his fangs for most of the stuff.

The movie is basically the McKenzies' Brothers' SCTV form transferred into television. A little of "take off" and "cut" goes a long way on the small screen, a lot of it on the larger screen is overkill. Still, there are more than a few compelling, if irreverent, scenes, such as the brothers staying up all night drinking beer so that they will not be late for their new jobs at the brewery. Later, in court on a drunken up kidnapping charge, Doug shows two hellies borrowed from an obnoxious policeman up his nose to stop a noisemaker, a morale later, he sneezes. Still later, trapped in an electric-shock therapy room, they are each delighted at the chance to receive a few volts. Bob complains bitterly that he never got his hair.

But for every chuckle in the movie there is a groaner to match. Is a recurring sketch, now Snow programs laughter from the nearby Royal Canadian Institute for the Mentally Injured to play hockey in stateroom suits. *Star Wars* jokes are getting terribly stale, as are *Star Wars* and *Superman* jokes, but *Strange Beer* has plenty to supply. Off-the-wall comedy such as that of SCTV or *Saturday Night Live* seldom maintains the same high level of humor throughout a single show, and *Strange Beer* is true to format. Like a six-pack, the movie's bits run out quickly, but they are good while they last.

—LAWRENCE O'TOOLE

## A star is born once again

A STAR IS BORN

Directed by George Cukor

The 1954 version of *A Star Is Born* is generally, and quite rightly, considered to embody the essence of Judy Garland. Her unique brand of emotional mania was custom-made for the role of Esther Blodgett, a nobody who is discovered by movie star Norman Maine (Jesse Vinton, in one of his finest performances). In the classic tale, first filmed in 1937, Esther Blodgett becomes rung the Vicksi Lester, while Maine, now her husband, hits the bottle and slid road. Overlong yet emotionally devastating, *A Star Is Born* was a musical tearjerker with bite. The reconstructed version of the 1954 film, which was given a star-studded gala last week at New York's Radio City Music Hall and is currently being re-released in theatres across North America, preserves the tone but does not really add to it.

What enhanced Garland's suffering in *A Star Is Born* was, of course, her singing; the gas-ventrilled notes of her voice in the great torch song *The Moon That Got Away* and the overly extended but wonderfully plaintive *Love Is A Travel* produced some irrefutable, electrifying sounds. The restored footage, which has been cut out for shortening, includes two numbers by Garland—*Here's What I've Been For* and *Love That Long Ago*—which add an extra potency. While she records the first song, Maine proposes to her, a moment appropriately absent from the first version, she performs the second, crumpled time just after having fallen again in his dressing room. However, other medium material has been added in an extremely curious fashion: the sound track of the last scenes is run over stills. These scenes not only interrupt the time of the movie but unfortunately lengthen it as well.

Civilized, the new version of *A Star Is Born* should be seen by anyone who cares about the history of film. It was the first musical to be shot in CinemaScope, and the new, exceptional print has a vibrant about. The colors are striking in the musical numbers, and the scope matches the emotional size and depth of the story. At the time of the premiere, problem-taken production, Garland's career was in as much trouble as Norman Maine's. She was battling her addiction to drugs and her own private sadness. That she gave such a triumphant performance is one of the most moving tributes to the human spirit.

—L.O.T.



Fisher, Harrell in *Just a Fool* summer

## An outbreak of movie madness

Two years ago Hollywood was suffering a serious box office crisis, and indeed the industry hit its lowest point ever. Then suddenly, last summer, there was a surprising turnaround, with movies enjoying their most successful box office period in history. Now, the receipts from the past three months have exceeded those of last summer by six per cent. Leading the pack, predictably, is the megahit *Raiders of the Ark*, which has grossed \$222 million since May. And although *Jaws* has not yet broken last year's \$1.77 *Raiders* record, the non-megahit champion of all time—a greater number of viable hits has buoyed the current market. *Finding Forrester* (\$75 million), *Wagons* (\$64 million), *Superman III* (\$62 million) and *Outlaw* (\$60 million).

Earlier this year Martin Scorsese's *King of Comedy* flopped, but comedy has recently become king of the box office with the unexpected success of National Lampoon's *Vacation* (\$38 million) and another surprise hit, *Polity Business* (\$20 million and counting each week). But the real sleeper of the season was the modestly budgeted *Florence*. Featuring a cast of unknowns, the movie has claimed the second spot behind *Jaws*, earning \$78 million, and the second track has risen to the top of the charts. The same marketing program did not work as well for *Shogun* *Alone*, the sequel to *Saturday Night Fever*, but the film has still managed to take in \$64 million. In many ways, then, the summer of 1983 has been the hottest in years.

## TELEVISION

# Unemployment under glass

WHO'S IN CHARGE?

CBC, Sept. 6

Alan King's documentaries tend to make viewers squint in their seats. They are never simply potted, nor presentational. In fact, his controversial films—such as his 1976 portrait of the lives of disturbed children, *Wardens*, and his record of domestic violence, *A Married Couple*—have audiences who are split. His style of journalism is not just a matter of style, but of substance. King's subjects are willing participants in *A Married Couple*, Billy and Antoinette Edwards gladly suffered the presence of cameras in their home as their marriage disintegrated, and the subjects of his new film, *Who's In Charge?*, signed releases for the filming (although an subsequently changed their minds and tried to have the taping simply stopped). Who's In Charge? gathers together 30 long-term unemployed Canadians for a four-day conference with these constraints to talk about their problems and work toward solutions. The two-hour documentary guarantees some heat, but it only produces flashes of light.

King's interest is not in the causes of unemployment but in the psychology of those who expected to work most of their lives but find themselves without jobs. From the outset, members of the group are kindly concerned about whether the solutions will produce answers or simply generate what they de-

scribe as "new film." Some tales of hardship emerge. One woman tells of the many years of unemployment that drove her to the brink of suicide—and of a job offer that arrived two days before the date on which she had resolved to kill herself. The resentments against unemployment are transferred wholesale against the socialists—two psychoanalysts and an expert in group dynamics. They come to be seen as hypocrites or, less charitably, as "bums." The audience's confidence in free-living fantasies of "revolution" and exploits into action when a normally meek man kicks a chair at one consultant. But the reality of their plight, both in and outside the conference, is most poignantly expressed by a woman in tears who says, "I didn't come here to make an ass of myself on television." She then realizes that the facile believing of the conference reduces the situation of the country and its people to "they're breaking up."

An assessment of *Who's In Charge?* needs the guidance of German physicist Werner Heisenberg's uncertainty principle, which maintains that the very act of observation changes the behavior of the observed. As in *A Married Couple*, the viewer suspects that people would act differently without the cameras and microphones around them. Instead of looking out at the artificial situation into which they had locked themselves, they would have busied themselves with ways of coping with the catastrophe of chronic joblessness. —Rita MacVicar

King (left) faces the discussion group's controversial search for solutions



## The politics of religion

By Allan Fotheringham

There is only one thing that the politicians of the land respect. It is when other people might approach their own need to intrude on their sacred self. Politics, to the politician, is an act of exorcism, bounded by the markers of cynicism, deceit, expediency and the language of ideological principles, and they are outraged. New chalk marks are not allowed. Strangers are essential. Only those who have invented the rules are supposed to be allowed to comment on the game.

We have seen this phenomenon twice recently. In British Columbia there is at the present time an intellectual civil war. The weak-but Social Credit government, faced with declining revenues from the resource-rich resource industries, has used the excuse of "down-sizing" the varied service forces to slash and hack at the pensions of public servants that it respects. The basic reason underlying of Social thought greatly represents the fact that the province's Human Rights Commission has been "cutting" its time on such items as whether Hankie Hill, a Vancouver Times-News entrepreneur who sells his ethnic food under that label, is guilty of racist comments, or "revisiting" the time on the complaint that the gay couples resist women, 51 per cent of our population, to certain specified hours and days on the links. Everybody knows the fatted governmental apparatus (the Socials have been in charge of it for 26 of the past 31 years) is being downed. What has split British Columbia is the feeling that the government of Bill Bennett is using the occasion of his shock 26 "restraining" bills to get at segments of the public service (the Automobile, Legal Aid, etc.) that the private sector respects.

Reed De Roo, the Roman Catholic bishop of Victoria and one of the more outspoken churchmen of Canada, is a strange modern Christian in that he feels the pain of everyone in society and he speaks his mind. He said quite forcefully that the proposed Social In-

stitution was offensive and should be withdrawn. For his troubles, he was given the back of the hand by Premier Mike Harcourt. The good bishop, said Bennett, was well-known for his views in that he did not believe in the profit system, and so the premier, said the premier, could not take his comments very seriously.

This was mindful of that other arch-dogger, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, when the Catholic bishops of the nation issued a thoughtful statement on the narrow attitude of the Liberal government in its obsession with its Social Fine



broccoli while ignoring other salient aspects of our economy. The Prime Minister, a devout man by all accounts, gave the impression of lifting his high churchman in the face with a wet fish, stating loftily that they were edging out of their real territory and intruding on the economy, where they had no business being.

Beautiful! The Christians of the world, for once abandoning the matter of angels during on a pinhead, are told that they have no right to speak out on the real matters of life. Wonderful logic in his prison, condescending attitude. Trudeau put himself comfortably into bed with the Cowboy Neanderthal, Ronald Reagan, who grew quite pompous when the Catholic bishops of his territory dared to take a stand on the nuclear madness and spoke out for disarmament. (We shall not venture into, here, the passing silence of the Protestant sects on the most important issue of our time, the supposedly stricture-bound Catholics doing all the gestic-

spacework in this argument.)

The point of all this is that the politicians are remarkably silent about their beliefs of religion, the full-throated propagandists who dominate the airwaves. Turn on any television set, weekday mornings as well as Sunday, and the sounds are filled with the rhetoric of ragged free enterprise and damn-the-Chinese. The charlatan charlatans of what is supposed to be Christianity bellow away and reap the bucks from the mouth-breath and emotionally retarded Rev. Jerry Falwell's sermons against evil, sex, drugs, moral degradation and stuff. Herbert W. Armstrong wages battles while extolling religion. His son, Garner Ted Armstrong, with the bedrock eyes of a venal blood suckler, on Elmo Fowler who can quote the Bible, proves that unbelief and unreason can make more money than firm-fisted bootlicks. David Roberts, the master of bombast, is an expert ambassador for all the virtues of the capitalistic God-fearing, luck-making cottage industry that is fundamentalist religion.

Have we ever heard any of our fearless political leaders denounce these mountebanks, these greedy exploiters of the frightened and easily anguished? Never. Politicians take their religion where they find it, especially when it can be tucked in their hip pocket. In this category we find one of the great posers of our time, Rev. Billy Graham, whose greatest prize, like Senator Kennedy, is his belief in golf with presidents. Dwight Eisenhower or Richard Nixon, it makes no difference. Christ is not as important as a three-iron. Graham's only venture into controversy was when he went to the Soviet Union, where no man struggles for the right to worship, and claimed not to have seen much repression. He wouldn't recognize it if he found it in his soap.

That's his major difference with Bennett and Trudeau. They discovered dissent during fruit-of-all-peoples-Christian spokesmen and they didn't like it. The people whose ultimate purpose is one of morals and ethics somehow are not allowed to comment on politics. Unbelievable.

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